ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

REPORT

OF

A TOUR IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

IN

1873-74 AND 1874-75

BY

A. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

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BY

MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

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"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them." — LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally." — JAMES PRINSEP.

Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1838, p.227.

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PREFACE.

THE tour described in the present volume extended from Bharhut, half-way between Allahabad and Jabalpur, to Asir and Burhânpur on the west, and to Chânda and Mârkanda on the south, thus covering nearly the whole of the western half of the Central Provinces. In the middle ages the greater part of this country belonged to the Kulachuri Rajas of *Chedi* or *Dâhal*. At a still earlier date the northern tract, about Uchahara and Mahiyar, was subject to two petty chiefs, or simple Maharajas, who were tributary to the powerful Gupta Kings, in whose era they date all their inscriptions.

Notices of all these records are given in the following pages, with facsimiles of the dates in the accompanying Plates.

The occurrence of these dates has given me an opportunity of discussing the probable starting point of the Gupta era, which I have fixed approximately to the year 194 A.D. Four of these inscriptions contain a second date in the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, which, I think it probable, will ultimately lead to the discovery of the true initial point of the Gupta era. I am not at present in possession of all the information necessary for the full discussion of this question; but I may note here that the years of this cycle of Jupiter have the same names as the twelve months of the year, with the addition of the word *Mahâ*, or great, prefixed to each. Thus the year 156 of the Gupta era is also called

he year *Mahá Vaisákha*, while the year 209 is named *Mahá Aswayuia*. Now the difference between these two dates is 53 years, or 5 years over 4 cycles of 12 years; and as Aswayuja is the fifth name in order after Vaisâkha, we thus learn that between the years 156 and 209 of the Gupta era there was no name omitted in the regular succession of the twelve years. But according to the old Astronomer Garga, the names of Aswayuja and Chaitra were omitted after the lapse of average periods of 85 years, so as to make the name of the year agree with that of the Nakshatra group, in which Jupiter actually rose heliacally. I have not yet been able to ascertain to my satisfaction what arrangement was actually followed in making these omissions, and I will not hazard any speculations as to the name of the year, which probably corresponds with A.D. 350, which, according to my proposed chronology of the Guptas, was the year Mahâ Vaisâkha. I hope, however, to obtain hereafter some positive information regarding the exact recurrence of these omitted names, which may then be brought to bear upon the initial point of the Gupta era. In the meantime, I wish to draw attention to the data furnished by the inscriptions of Budha Gupta and Dhruvabhata, from which I have deduced the probable commencement of the Gupta era in 194 A.D.

I have also given a short account of the silver coins of the Guptas and their successors, amongst which will be found the coins of two new kings—named Bhima Sena[1] and Sânti Varma. Since the plate was prepared, I have received the coin of a later Gupta King, with face to the right, as on all the Gupta coins. The coin is of rude and coarse execution, and must therefore be considerably later than the coins of Skanda and Budha Gupta. The name consists of four syllables, which I read, with some hesitation as to the first, as Dâmodara Gu(pta). The coin was obtained

[1] The name on this coin is read as Toramâna by Babu Rajendra Lala Mitra; but with this reading I cannot agree.

at Ajudhya, and bears on the reverse the usual Gupta peacock with expanded tail. The whole legend seems to read as follows :—

Devajaya viji [*tava*] *niravani pati Dâmodara Gu(pta).*

The name of Dâmodara Gupta is found in the Aphsar inscription of the later Guptas. He was the son and successor of Kumâra Gupta II, who was the opponent of Sânti Varma. Dâmodara must therefore have reigned, according to my calculation of the Gupta chronology, from about 460 to 480 A.D., a date which agrees with the statement of the inscription that he had successfully encountered "at the battle of Maushari the fierce army of the Western Hunas."

I have also given a pretty long account of the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi, illustrated by numerous inscriptions. All of these are dated in an era of their own, which is called both Chedi Samvat and Kulachuri Samvat. The starting point of this era I have fixed with some certainty in the year 249 A.D. My account of the era is founded partly on the mention of the Kulachuri Kings in the dated inscriptions of other dynasties, and partly on the mention of several week days in some of their own inscriptions. Afterwards I was lucky enough to find two separate notices of the Chedi Kings by independent authors, which serve to establish the correctness of the date that I have assigned to the beginning of the era.

The first of these notices is a very short paragraph of Abu Rihân, the contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni, which has escaped the notice of all previous enquirers. After mentioning Kâlanjar he says, "thence to Dahâl, of which the capital is Bituri, the kingdom[1] of Kankgu." Now these names are only a slight disguise in Persian characters for *Dâhal*, which was another appellation of the country of

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[1] See Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans* p. 106, and Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians* by Dowson, 1, 58. See also p. 106 of this volume.

Chedi, of which the capital was Tripuri, or Tripura, and the Raja was Gângeo, or Gângeya Deva. Abu Rihân's account refers to the year 1030-31 A.D., while the reign of Gângeya is fixed by the genealogical reckoning of my chronology to the period between A.D. 1025 and 1050.

The second notice is in Dr. Bühler's account of Bilhana, the author of the Vikramânkadeva Charita.[1] Bilhana was born at Khonamukha, in Kashmir, and left his native country between 1062 and 1065 A.D. He visited Mathura, Kanauj, Prayâg, and Benares, and afterwards "resided for some time at the court of the *Chandela* Chief Karna in *Dâhala*, or Bundelkhand; and it was here, he tells us, that he gained his victory over the poet Gangâhara." Eventually he became the court poet of the Châlukya King Vikramâditya Tribhuvana Malla of Kalyâna. As his life of this king was written about A.D. 1085, the date of his residence at the court of Raja Karna of Dâhala may be placed about A.D. 1070 to 1075, a period which agrees exactly with the approximate date of A.D. 1050 to 1075, which I had already assigned to him by the genealogical reckoning.

In this notice I have retained the statement that Karna was the *Chandela* Chief of Dâhala, or *Bundelkhand*, for the purpose of correcting the widely-spread mistake that *Chedi* was identical with *Chandel*. This error, I believe, originated with Lieutenant Price, the translator of the Mau inscription of the Chandel Rajas. After describing how Madana Varma *Chandela* had vanquished the King of *Chedi* "in the fierce fight," he adds in a note, "the same, I believe, with *Chandail*," so that Madana Varma must have conquered himself.[2] Now Chandela is the tribal name of the Rajas who ruled over the country of Mahoba, Khajuraho, and Kâlanjar, which is called *Jajahuti* by Abu Rihân, and *Jejá-*

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[1] See the Vikramânkadeva Charita, edited by Dr. Bühler, Bombay. See also Indian Antiquary, V, 317, 324.

[2] Researches of Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xii, para. 15, of translation.

kasukti in one of the Prithi Râj's inscriptions. There is besides no Karna in the Chandela lists of kings. But Karna of *Dâhala* is the well-known Raja Karna of Chedi, which country, according to Hema Chandra, was also called *Dâhala*. I may add that Karna himself and all his descendants bear the titles of Chedindra and Chedinarendra, or "Lord of Chedi," in all their inscriptions.

I have also given a full account of the curious Buddhist caves at Bhândak, near the Wardâ River, and of the fine group of temples at Mârkanda on the Venya Gangâ River. As both of these places are in the ancient district of *Vâkâtaka*, I have suggested that *Bhândak* is only the modern abbreviated form of the old name.

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REPORT OF A TOUR IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, 1873-74 & 1874-75.

1.—LÂL-PAHÂR.

MY tour in 1873-74 began with the discovery of the magnificent Stûpa of Bharhut, half-way between Allahabad and Jabalpur. As the description of this old Buddhist monument forms the subject of a separate volume, I only allude to it now for the purpose of indicating the site of the lofty crest of *Lâl Pahâr*, or the "Red Hill," at the south-east foot of which the stûpa is situated. The hill is also known as *Chhatri Pahâr*, that is, the "Umbrella or Canopy Hill," a name which is said to have been derived from a large round stone, with a hole in the middle, which is now lying on the top, and which is supposed to be like an umbrella. The height of the hill is 1,869 feet above the sea, and 500 feet above the plain of Bharhut.

Near the top of the hill there is a fine natural cave, large enough to hold as many as 100 people. Outside there is an inscription, painted in large white letters, which are now illegible.

Near the Chhatri stone there is a separate piece of rock, with an inscription on the top in large letters, which shows that the rule of the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi had once extended to Bharhut. The inscription will be examined hereafter, along with other records of the Kulachuri kings of Chedi.

A separate short line repeats the name of the inscriber, as "*Râut Sri Ballâla Deva.*"

This brief record is important in giving the week-day, which will help us in ascertaining the initial point of the Chedi or Kulachuri era, which is clearly the Samvat here used. The inscription was recorded by Prince Ballâla Deva, the son of Keṣavaditya, and grandson of Nara Sinha Deva,

the Kulachuri Rájá of Chedi. This king is mentioned in other inscriptions, and more particularly in a record of his own reign, which is dated in Samvat 907, Mârga sudi 11, Sunday. An inscription of Jaya Sinha Deva, his younger brother, is dated in Samvat 928, Srâvaṇa sudi 6, Sunday, and an earlier one without the week-day in Samvat 926. The earliest record of this family that I have seen is the copperplate [mentioned by Wilford] which bears the date of Samvat 793, Phâlgun badi 9, Monday. From all these week-days we may now confidently expect to ascertain the initial point of the Chedi or Kulachuri era with absolute certainty. My assistant, Mr. Beglar, has since found several inscriptions of the Kulachuri Rájás of Mahâ-Kosala, in which the era used is called both Chedi Samvat and Kulachuri Samvat. I have now got eight dates which give the week-day, four of which agree in placing the first year of the Kulachuri Samvat in A. D. 249.

Another point of some interest in this short record on the hill of Lâl Pahâr is the mention of the village of *Vádyavagráma*, or *Bájagaon*, which may have been the original name of Bharhut itself. It was certainly the name of Prince Ballâla Deva's estate; and if it was not Bharhut itself, it could not have been far off, as his father's principality must have been a small one, most probably only the present chiefship of Uchahara.

2.—BHARHUT.

The great Buddhist Stûpa of Bharhut is situated nearly half-way between Allahabad and Jabalpur, and about 2 miles to the east of the railway, between the stations of Satna and Uchahara. The exact distances are 120 miles from Allahabad and 111 miles from Jabalpur.

The remains of the ancient stûpa have been described in a separate volume; but there is also a ruined temple of mediæval date which deserves to be noticed, as it proves that the open profession of the Buddhist religion must have continued down to a very late period. The original old temple was of small size, but it would appear to have been enlarged at a later period; and it is difficult to say whether the fragments found in the excavations belonged to the old work or to the later additions. The back wall of the old temple is still standing; and this was retained intact when the additions were made. Its platform was disclosed by the excavations as a simple rectangle, 25 feet long by 20¼ feet broad; the

temple itself being only 21½ feet long by 15 feet broad. At some subsequent period the platform was considerably enlarged, and two side-rooms were added to the temple. A portion of one of the pillars was found, as well as several pieces of the cusped arch of the entrance and a single piece of the canopy of the enshrined statue. The last bears a portion of a Buddhist dedicatory inscription. The original pedestal occupied the whole breadth of the temple; but afterwards a second smaller pedestal was placed on the top of the larger one, on which is seated a colossal figure of Buddha, with his right shoulder bare, his right hand resting on his knee and his left hand on his lap. On the upper pedestal to the right are some Brahmanical figures in subordinate positions.—Kâli, the skeleton goddess; Siva, with his noose and thunderbolt; Brahmâ, with his beard and three heads; and Indra, on his elephant. The other side of the pedestal is broken. On the lower pedestal there are two lions. Amongst the broken sculptures are no less than four bearing on their pedestals portions of the Buddhist creed of *Ye-dharmma hetu prabhava*, &c. It is certain, therefore, that this was a Buddihst temple down to the very last. After seeing many other small temples in different places, I am of opinion that the original temple was a square of 15 feet, with a portico in front, supported on four pillars. Judging from other examples, the portico would have been about one-half the width of the temple, which would make the total length 22 feet 6 inches, the actual length of the old temple being only one foot less. The plan of the old temple, thus described, may be conveniently compared with the plan of the Tigowa temple in the present volume. This proportion accords with the plans of most of the temples of the Gupta period, to which time I believe that this Bharhut temple belongs. At some. later period, say about 1100 A. D., the temple was enlarged, and a second pedestal placed on the top of the old one, to give due elevation to the new statue, which then took the place of the ancient colossus.

Several moulded and curved bricks were also found, which, as they form portions of a circle not less than 20 feet in diameter, must have belonged to a small stûpa. Numerous pieces of iron were also discovered, which are not worth sketching. The uses of most of them are obvious, such as the razor and nail-cutter, which are easily recognized. Only one razor was found; although every monk was bound to possess one for his own tonsure.

A single bronze figure was also found in the excavations. It seems to be that of an attendant; and I am unable to say whether it is Buddhist or Brahmanical. I was disappointed in not finding any seals, either of burnt-clay or of lac, which have been found in such numbers at other places, as at Srâvasti, Sankisa-Bihâr, Sârnâth, Bodh-Gaya, Bakror, Giryek, and Birdrâban near Lakhi-Sarai. But Bharhut is not singular in this respect, as I have not obtained even a single seal at the eminently Buddhist site of Kosam.

3.—SANKARGARH.

Sankargarh is a small hill fort of no importance, 5 miles to the west of Bharhut and 4 miles to the north of Uchahara. I visited the place to inspect a square stone pillar, which was said to have carvings like those of the Buddhist railing of the Bharhut Stûpa. The pillar stands in front of a Baori well, and is believed to have been set up by a Brahman, five or six generations ago. But the carving is much too good for such a late period; and as the figures are Brahmanical, the pillar cannot have been brought from Bharhut; although the representations of the mango fruit are in the Bharhut style, and are probably copies.

To the north of the village there is a fine tank and a Baori called the Bakoli Baoli, with a broken inscribed slab lying on its bank. The slab is said to be the monument of a Sati; and a curious story is told as to the cause of her death. There are many slightly differing versions of the story, but they all agree in the main points.

A Brahman girl, some say the wife of a Brahman, of the village Dâne, near Sankargarh, used daily to fill her water-vessel from the Tons river, near the village of Bakoli. Here she frequently met a shepherd of Bharhut, who tended his flock on the banks of the river. They fell in love with each other; but their intercourse remained unknown, until the sudden death of the shepherd. The girl had filled her water-vessel as usual, and the shepherd was assisting her in lifting it on to her head, when he was bitten by a snake, which had got into the water-pot unseen. After his death the girl declared her love, and became a Sati. Or, in the version which makes her a Brahman's wife, she affirmed that she had been the wife of the shepherd in a former birth.

The story is widely known, and forms the subject of many doggerel verses, which are more popular than decent. The following verse gives the chief points of the story :—

Pâni bharon Bakoli,
Bason Dâne-re gaon,
Bharhut Keâr Gadariya,
Tehu se judo saneo.

"To fetch water from Bakoli, a maiden of Dâne went; there met a shepherd of Bharhut, and fell in love with him."

4.—UCHAHARA, OR UCHAHADA.

Uchahaṛa is a small town and railway station on the high road between Allahabad and Jabalpur, and six miles to the south-west of Bharhut. The town gives its name to the chiefship of a Parihâr Rájâ, who is, however, better known now as the Rájá of Nâgod, since the Rájá preferred to live there after the place was made a military cantonment. The situation of Uchahara at the junction of the two great lines of road from Allahabad and Benares towards the south and near the head of the long obligatory pass of the Tons valley between Mahiyar and Jokhai is a very favourable one. The original name of the district is said to have been *Barmê*, and the Barmê Nadi is noted as being the present boundary between the Mahiyar and Uchahara chiefships. But this stream was at first only the boundary line which divided the two districts of north and south Barmê. At Kâri Tâlai, which once formed part of Mahiyar, I found an inscription with the name of Uchahaḍa. The old name of Barmê is widely known; but few people seemed to know anything about the extent of the country. From the late Minister of the Uchahara State, I learned that the *Parihâr* chiefship was older than that of the *Chandels* of Mahoba, as well as that of the *Bâghels* of Rewa. According to his belief, it formerly included Mahoba, and all the country to the north as far as the Ghâts and Bilhari on the south, and extended to Mau-Mahewa on the west, and on the east comprised most of the country now held by the Bâghels. I do not suppose that the Bâghels would admit this eastern extension; but it seems to receive some support from the position assigned by Ptolemy to the *Poruári*, who are very probably the same people as the Parihârs. The great lake at Bilhari, called Lakshman Sâgar, is said to have been made by Lakshman Sen Parihâr; and the great fort of Singorgarh,

still farther to the south, contains a pillar bearing the name of a Parihâr Rájá. The family has no ancient records, and vaguely claims to have come from Abu-Sikhar in the west (Mount Abu), more than thirty generations ago.

In Uchahara itself there is no ancient building now standing; but there are numerous fragments of architecture and sculpture which probably date as high as 700 or 800 A. D. This is perhaps the earliest date that can be assigned to the Parihârs in Uchahara, as everybody affirms that they were preceded by a Teliya Ráj, or dynasty of Telis, who resided at *Kho*, over the whole of the country called Barmê.

5.—KHO.

I paid a visit to *Kho*, to examine the great mound, and to make enquiries regarding the exact find-spots of several copperplate inscriptions which are now in the possession of the Rájá of Uchahara. The old town of Kho has nearly disappeared, and is now represented by a small village. The great mound stands on the south bank of the Barúa Nalâ, just three miles to the west of Uchahara. It is still upwards of 29 feet in height, and forms a conspicuous mark in the very middle of the valley. On excavation, I found the ruins of a large red brick temple, which had apparently been destroyed by fire, as the whole of the stone statues were split into small fragments, such as could not readily have been done with a hammer. There were also numerous friable flakes of stone; and on the north side there was a large quantity of concrete of brick-and-lime, of which many of the brick fragments had fused into slag.

The temple faced to the east, and was dedicated to Vishnu, as I found a part of a colossal statue of the Nara-Sinha-avatâr, as well as a large statue of the Varâha, 5½ feet in length and 3 feet 9 inches high. Prone between the boar's legs there is a Nâga, with human head and body and serpent's tail. He is canopied by five snakes' hoods, and holds out two vessels in his hands below the boar's snout.[1] There are also many fragments of the well-known symbols of Vishnu, the discus, the shell, the club, and the winged figure of Garuda. The large dimensions of some of these symbols show that there must have been other figures of Vishnu of rather more than life-size; whilst a single thumb, 2¼ inches in breadth, proves that there was at least one colossus of at least twice

[1] See Plate III.

the natural height. All the human faces are remarkable for the large size of the lower lip. In the accompanying plate I have given a sketch of a fragment of a colossal head, which is 8 inches broad. From the root of the nose to the parting of the lips is only one inch, while the lower lip is one inch and an eighth. In a second smaller example the dimensions were respectively 5-eighths and 5½-eighths of an inch. This peculiarity was, therefore, intentional.[1] Apparently, also, it was the fashion of a particular period, as I have found terra-cotta heads in other places with the same large under lip.

The mound itself is called *Ataritekra*, or simply *Atariya*, or the high mound, a name which it justly bears, as I found that the floor of the temple was raised 22 feet above the ground. The pedestals of the statues were still *in situ*; but there was nothing, not even a single letter, to give any clue to the date of the temple. The bricks were large, 14 × 8¼ × 2½, and probably belong to the time of the Teliya Ráj. As Kho is said to have been the capital of the Teliya Rájás, this date is not improbable.

Regarding the inscribed copperplates which were found in the Kho valley, I learned that one pair was discovered in 1870, in ploughing a field belonging to the neighbouring village of Majgowa. As this pair had a ring and seal attached, I am able to identify the inscription as an edict of Mahárája Hastin, which is dated in Samvat 191 of the Gupta era. Four other plates, which were found in the same place some twenty years earlier, or about 1852 A. D., are said to have been sent to Benares. I conclude, therefore, that these were the four plates obtained by Colonel Ellis while Political Agent at Nâgod, as they were certainly sent to Benares, where they were translated by Professor Hall. They also are dated in the Gupta era. They will be described shortly when I come to speak of the Bhubhara Pillar.

6.—KÂRI-TÂLAI, or KARNAPURA.

The village of Kâri-Tâlai stands on the east side of the Kaimur range of hills, 22 miles to the south-east of Mahiyar and 31 miles to the south of Uchahara. The old name of the place was Karnpur or Karnapura, which is now restricted to a small village, with a number of ruined temples lying along the ridge, to the north of the modern town. There is

[1] See Plate III.

also a large tank called Sâgar, half a mile in length, to the east of the ruins; but it is now nearly dry. The principal figure is the boar of Vishnu in red sandstone, which is 8 feet long, 7 feet high, and 2 feet 9 inches broad. There is also a colossal Narasinha in white stone, and one naked Jain figure. All the temples are mere heaps of ruins, from which the smaller figures have been removed, some to Kâri-Tâlai, some to Jabalpur. In Kâri-Tâlai I saw the Fish and Tortoise avatârs, each 4½ feet long and 3 feet broad. In the Jabalpur Museum there is a long inscription from Kâri-Tâlai with the names of *Yuva Rájá Deva* and *Lakhshmana Rájá.* The latter is called both *Chedindra* and *Chedinarendra*, or the "Lord of Chedi." This inscription, therefore, proves that Kâri-Tâlai was in early possession of the Kulachuris of Chedi.

But a still more important inscription was discovered, somewhere about 1850, in a small receptacle inside the ruined temple of the Varâha, or boar incarnation of Vishnu. This inscription is engraved on a plate of copper and records the grant of land by Maharájá Jayanâth in the Samvat year 174, which is noted both in words and in figures. The name of the Samvat is not mentioned; but, as I will show hereafter, there is no doubt that the era is that of the Guptas.

7.—BHUBHARA.

In the small village of *Bhubhara*, on the top of the tableland 12 miles to the west of Uchahara, there is a well-known pillar of dark-red sandstone called *Thári-pathar*, or "the standing stone." The pillar is 10½ inches broad and 7 inches thick, with the lower part rectangular and the upper part octagonal. On the lower part there is an inscription of nine short lines in Gupta characters, which gives the names of two Rájás of different families, one of whom is the now well-known Rájá Hastin of the Uchahara copperplates, who has already been mentioned, and the other is Sarvvanâtha, the son of Rájá Jayanâth, of the Kâri-Talâi copperplate. From this joint mention of their names, we find that Sarvvanâth and Hastin were contemporaries; and further, as the recorded dates of their separate inscriptions correspond, we learn that the era employed by Sarvvanâth and his father Jayanâth must have been that of the Guptas, which is used by Rájá Hastin. In this record the date is not given in numbers, but is simply named the *Maká-Mágha*

Samvatsara, that is, the year of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, which was so called. As Sarvvanâth's father, Jayanâth, was still alive in 177, and as Hastin's son, Sankshobha, had succeeded him before 209, the only possible dates of this Bhubhara pillar are the Mahâ-Mâgh years of 188 and 200 of the Gupta era. But as we have another inscription of Hastin, dated in Samvat 156, the earlier date of Samvat 188 is the more probable one. There are several other inscriptions of these two families, which I will now notice in some detail, as they promise to give us most material assistance in finding the initial-point of the Gupta era.

INSCRIPTIONS.

DATED IN THE GUPTA ERA.

I HAVE now collected no less than nine inscriptions which are dated in the era of the Guptas. Two of these of Rájá Hastin have already been made known by Professor Hall's translations.[1] The following list gives the Rájás names and the dates of these important records, with the place of their deposit. Extracts from all these inscriptions are given in the accompanying Plate, showing the dates at full length.

No.	Names.	Gupta era.	Year of Jupiter cycle.	Place of deposit.
1	Rájá Hastin	156	Mahâ Vaisâkha ...	Benares College.
2	Ditto	173	Mahâ Aswayuja ...	Allahabad Museum.
3	Rájá Jayanâtha ...	174	......	In author's possession.
4	Ditto	177	....	Rájá of Uchahara.
5	Rájá Hastin	191	Mahâ Chaitra ...	Ditto.
6	Rájá Sarvvanâtha ...	197	......	Ditto.
7	Rájá Sankshobha ...	209	Mahâ Aswayuja ...	Ditto.
8	Rájá Sarvvanâtha ...	214	......	In author's possession.
9	Rájás Hastin & Sarvvanâtha	...	Mahâ Mâgha ...	Stone pillar at Bhubhara.

The first point to be noticed in this list is, that the date of No. 2, the reading of which on the plate as 163 is quite clear, is *certainly* a mistake for 173. All the other dates fit into their proper places in the twelve-year cycle. Thus Aswayuja being the sixth name after Chaitra, the date of 209 falls exactly 18 years after 191; and another Aswayuja must have fallen 18 years before 191, or in 173, and not in 163, as actually written in the inscription. Similarly, Aswayuja being the fifth name after Vaisâkh, the two years named Mahâ

[1] See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, p. 1.

Aswayuja must have fallen in 161 and 173.[1] When I first saw these inscriptions, I felt grave doubts as to the correctness of the generally accepted rendering of the words *Gupta-nripa rájya bhuktau* as the "close or cessation of the Gupta rule." I referred the point to some learned Brahmans, by whom I was assured that the true meaning of the expression was, "during the peaceful sway of the Guptas." This rendering has since been confirmed by the learned Rajendra Lâla Mittra.

In one of these inscriptions, No. 7 of Rájá Sarvvanâtha, dated in Samvat 197, I find mention of the goddess *Pṛishṭa-puri Devi*. Now this same name of Pṛishṭapuri, according to my reading, occurs in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta, which Prinsep has rendered *Arghashṭa-pura*.[2] If I am right in this reading, then *Pṛishṭapuri* must have been the name of some small principality that was tributary to Samudra Gupta. This name I would identify with *Pithaora*, one of the chief towns in the Uchahara district, and a place of considerable antiquity. In No. 8 inscription of Rájá Sankshobha, dated in Samvat 209, the name is written *Pṛishṭapuri*. The great goddess of Pithaora at the present day is *Pataini Devi*, who is represented with four arms and attended by several naked male figures, which lead me to suppose that she must be a Jaina goddess.

In Samudra Gupta's inscription the names of two other places are joined with Pṛishṭapura, under the rule of the same king, which I read as follows: *Pṛishṭapuraka, Mahendragirika, Udyáraka, Swámidatta*. If *Pithaora* be accepted as the representative of the first, then *Udyára* may be identified with Uchahara, and *Mahendragiri* with Mahiyar, with its lofty conical hill, crowned by the far-famed temple of Sârddâ Devi, or Saraswati.

As these inscriptions of the Gupta period are of paramount interest for early Indian history, I will forestal their detailed translations in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, by giving a brief statement of their contents at once. *Facsimiles* of the dates will be found in the accompanying Plate.[3]

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[1] The alteration required to change *trisapt* into *trishasht* in Gupta characters is very small; and the error was very likely due to the engraver, owing to some smearing of the original ink letters.

[2] See line 16, Samudra Gupta's Inscription on the Allahabad Pillar, and Prinsep's Translation in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VI, p. 979.

[3] See Plate IV.

Copper-plate No. 1.—RÁJÁ HASTIN, *Samvat 156.*

"Glory to Mahadeva! Well be it! In the year one hundred and fifty-six of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the year *Mahá Vaisákha*, in the month of Kârtika, on the third of the waxing moon. On that aforesaid day, by the great King Sri Hastin, sprung from the house of the *Parivrájaka* princes, great-grandson of Mahârájá Devâhya, grandson of Mahárájá Prabhanjana, and son of Mahârájá Damodara—giver of thousands of kine, of elephants and horses, of store of gold pieces and of land; diligent in homage to his spiritual guides, and to his father and mother; most devoted to the gods and to Brahmans; victorious in many hundreds of battles; the delighter of his race—with a view to enhance his own worthiness, and that he might make himself to mount by the flights of steps celestial, the village of *Vasuntaraspendika* has been ceded, absolutely, to Gopaswâmin, Bhavaswâmin, Sandhyâputra, Divâkaradatta, Bhâskaradatta, and Sûryadatta, Vâjasaneya, Mâdhyandina, Brahmans of the stock of Kutsa.

"In all directions this village has fosses of demarcation. On the north side is the boundary of Mona and that of Pûrvabhûkti. To Sandhyâputra and the rest the place is assigned, privileged from the ingress of fortune-tellers and soldiers, and with right to rid itself of robbers.

"By virtue of these presents, impediments to the franchises herein patented are not to be opposed, even in after-times, by those who arise in my family, or by those who are maintained by substance accuring from my shares. Thus it is enacted. Let one do otherwise than as I have decreed, and though my soul shall have transmigrated into another body, I will, with intense vigilance, bring him to destruction."

(Here follows the usual quotation against resumption of land).

"The end. And this was engrossed by Sûryadatta, son of the financier, Ravidatta, grandson of the financier and minister Naradatta, great-grandson of the Minister Vakra. The commissioner in the transaction was Bhâgraha."

I have given the greater part of this translation in the very words of Dr. Hall, excepting, of course, the passage regarding the date. Dr. Hall translates '*rájye bhuktau*' as "extinction of the sovereignty;" but, according to my view, which has the strong support of Babu Rajendra Lála Mittra, the true meaning is "possession of sovereignty."

Copper-plate No. 2.—RÁJÁ HASTIN, *Samvat 163* (*read 173*).

An abstract of this inscription, embracing all its material points, has been given by Professor Hall, whose account I follow after the specification of the date.[1]

[1] See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, pp. 8, 9.

"Glory to Mahâdeva! Well be it! In the year one hundred and sixty-three of the possession of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, in the year *Mahá Aswayuja*, in the month of Chaitra, on the second of the waxing moon. On that aforesaid day, by the great King Sri Hastin, sprung from the house of the Parivrâjaka princes, &c., &c., was bestowed on several Brahmans (mentioned by name), in perpetuity, 'the benefice' of *Korpárika*, which apparently was situated in the heart of a village.

"The estate thus assigned was bounded on the east by the ditch of Korpara; on the north by Nimuktákakoṇaka in the village of Vangara; on the south by Mavrika and Amvratasantâraka in Valaka; and on the west by Nâgasari. To the south lay the allotment of Balavarman.

"The stanzas of the other grant are repeated in this, but, before the last of them, we have another: 'He who resumes land, given by himself or given by another, transformed to a dung-worm, along with his progenitors, receives retribution.'

"Sûryadatta is now become 'great fecial.' He styles his grandfather 'financier,' and no longer 'minister.' Bhâgraha, as seven years before, is the commissioner. His name here precedes his title, in the Sanskrit"

Each of the sets of plates, as I have said already, is accompanied by a rude signet ring. "Of the fortunate Hastin," is inscribed on one of the rings; "The fortunate King Hastin," on the other.

Copper-plate No. 3.—Rájá Jayanâtha, *Samvat 174.*

"Aum! Be it well! Descended from Achchakalpa was the Mahárája Ugha Deva, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen *Kumâri Devi*, was Mahárája Kumâra Deva, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen *Jaya Swámini*, was Mahárája Jaya Swâmi, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen *Rámá Devi*, was Mahárája Vyâghra, whose son, bowing down to his father's feet, born of the queen *Majjhita Devi*, was Mahárájá Jayanâtha, who, being in prosperity,[1] hereby notifies to all Brahmans, cultivators, and artisans, dwelling in *Nágadeya-santaka Chandapallika* [? the village of Chandapalli in the district of Nâgod], that this village, undisturbed by thieves, not liable to have soldiers or officials quartered upon it, and well provided with water, &c., is given to Mittraswâmi, a Kânwa Brahman, of the Mâdhyandini division of the Vâjasaneya sect, for the enhancement of my meritorious acts. And further, that all must pay to him the due rents, produce, fines, and presents, and be subject to his commands."

[Here follows the usual prohibition against resumption by any of the king's descendants, and the well-known quota-

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[1] The word here used '*kusali*' is the same in all these inscriptions, and means simply "being in good health." It would thus appear to be equivalent to the English testamentary form of "being of sound mind."

tion from the Mahâbhârata, promising 60,000 years of heaven to the giver of land, and the same period in hell to the resumer of land.]

"Samvatsara one hundred and seventy-four, month of Ashâdha, fourteenth day. On the aforesaid day this is written by me, Bhogika *Gunnjjakirtti*, son of Bhogika *Dhruvadatta*, grandson of the great Bhogika *Ilámatya* Sarvvadatta, head of the correspondence office. Samvat 174; Ashâdha, day 14."[1]

Copper-plate No. 4.—Rájá Jayanâtha, *Samvat 177.*

This inscription opens with the genealogy of Ràjà Jayanâtha, as given in the last copper-plate, and records the gift of the village of Dhavashandika. Then follows the date:

"Samvatsara one hundred and seventy-seven, month of Chaitra, twenty-second day. Written by *Gallana*, minister of peace and war [Sandhivigrahika], son of Bhogika *Varshadatta*, grandson of Bhogika *Phâlgudattamâtya*, the householder Sarvvadatta, head of the correspondence office."

[Here follows a postscript which has no counterpart in the previous inscription.]

"The limits of possession are extended to the fields of corn, the mounds, the tracts of gold (?), the grass-meadows for cattle, the mango orchards, the surrounding woods, and all the village wells."

Copper-plate No. 5.—Rájá Hastin, *Samvat 191.*

"Glory to Mahâdeva! Be it well! One hundred and ninety-one years of the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings having passed, in the year *Mahá Chaitra* on the third day of the waning moon of the month of Mâgha. On that very day, month and year aforesaid, by the king of the race of Parivrájaka [ascetics], great-grandson of Mahárája Devâhya, grandson of Mahárája Prabhanjana, son of Mahárája Dâmodara Mahárája Hastin—giver of thousands of kine, elephants, horses, gold and land; renderer of homage to his preceptors and parents; devoted to the gods and to Brahmans; victor in hundreds of battles; delighter of his dynasty—was bestowed, at the request of Mahâdevi Deva, the village named *Bálugartta*—well defined on all sides by *Purvvaghati* [the Eastern ghât], and other boundary marks; not infested by thieves, not liable to be molested by royal troops or officials; with all its fields and produce, buildings and inhabitants, together with other belongings—on *Govinda Swámi*, *Gomika Swámi*, and *Dava Swámi*, Apamanyava Brahmans of the *Chandoga* and *Gautama* sects, by this copper-plate [*támrasásana*], that it may be enjoyed by their posterity.

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[1] In this inscription the date is given both in words and in figures.

"Thus have I enhanced the pious acts of my parents and myself, raising a succession of steps that may lead to heaven, and please Mahâdevi Deva!"

[Here follows the usual appeal to his successors against resumption, and the well-known quotation from the Mahâbhârata.]

"This was written by Vibhudatta, the minister for peace and war [Mahâsândhika Vigrahika], son of Sûryadatta, grandson of Ravidatta, great-grandson of Bhogika Naradatta, and great-great-grandson of the Minister Vakra. Agent the Adhikrita Nara Sinha. Samvat 191; Magh, day 3."

By comparing the geneaology of the ministers with that of the Ràjás in this and the previous inscriptions of Hastin dated in 156 and 173, it appears that the long reign of Hastin had covered two generations of ministers.

Copper-plate No. 6.—RÁJÁ SARVVANÂTHA, *Samvat 197.*

"Aum! Be it well! Descended from *Achchakalpa* was the Mahárája UGHA DEVA, whose son, reverencing his father's feet, born of the queen *Rámá Devi,* was Mahárája VYAGHRA, whose son, reverencing his father's feet, born of the queen *Majjhita Devi,* was Mahárája JAYANATHA, whose son, reverencing his father's feet, born of the queen *Murunda Swámini,* was Mahárája SARVVANATHA, who, being in good health, hereby makes known to all Brahmans, cultivators, and artisans, inhabitants of the two villages *Vyághra-pallika* and *Káchara-pallika,* that these villages,—undisturbed by thieves, and not liable to have soldiers or officials quartered upon them, together with their produce, fines, rents, and whatever pertained to the king, together with wood, water, &c., —which were presented to *Pulindra Bhaṭṭa* in perpetuity, while the sun and moon shall exist, have been transferred by the said Bhaṭṭa to *Kumára-Swámi,* that he and his posterity may enjoy their possession, and maintain the worship and sacrifices of the goddess *Pṛishṭapurika Devi,* the family deity of Kârtika Deva of Mânpur; and [further] being bound to observe the law of land gifts, [the king] approved the said transfer by this decree engraved on copper [*támrasásana*], and directs you to pay the due rents, fines, produce, gold, &c."

[Here follows the usual quotation from the Mahâbhârata].

"This is written in Samvatsara one hundred and ninety-seven, in the month of *Aswayuja,* the twentieth day, by *Manoratha,* the minister of peace and war, son of *Bhogika Varáhadatta,* grandson of *Bhogika Phálgudatta mátya.*"

[Here follow the names and titles of some inferior officers.]

This inscription is interesting, as it differs from the others in being a confirmation by the king of a transfer of land

by a previous grantee, instead of the usual record of an original gift.

Copper-plate No. 7.—MAHÁRÁJA SANKSHOBHA, *Samvat 209.*

"Glory to the divine Vasûdeva! Be it well! In the year two hundred and nine of the peaceful and prosperous rule of the Guptas, in the Samvatsara Mahâ Aswayuja, in the month of Chaitra, the thirteenth day of the waxing moon. On the aforesaid day, month, and year, descended from the stock of Bharadwâja, through the ascetic (Parivrâjaka) King SUSARMAN was the Mahárája DEVAHYA, whose son was Mahárája PRABHANJANA, whose son was Mahárája DAMODARA, whose son was Mahárája HASTIN, giver of thousands of cows, gold, and land, reverencer of his preceptor and parents, worshipper of the gods and Brahmans, the victor in a hundred battles, &c.,[1] by whose son Mahárája SANKSHOBHA, for the increase of the pious acts of his parents and himself, a grant was made, at the request of Chotugomika, as recorded on this copper plate, of half the village of *Upana* (?), in the district of *Mani Nágapedha* (?), free from thieves and quarrels, that the various sorts of sacrifices may be duly performed by the family of Kartinka Deva, in honour of the goddess Pṛishṭapurika Devi."

[Here follows the usual quotation from the Mahâbhârata.]

"This is written by Iswaradâsa, son of Bhûjangadâsa, and grandson of Jivita, by order from his own mouth. Chaitra, day 10."

[This figure should be 13, to agree with the written date given above.]

The letters of this inscription are throughout small and badly formed, and consequently there are many doubtful places. But I believe that the above abstract gives a very fair idea of the main points of the record. I notice that the king has become a worshipper of Vishnu, and that the writer of the inscription does not belong to the old family which had served his ancestors for several generations.

Copper-plate No. 8.—MAHÁRÁJA SARVVANÂTHA, *Samvat 214.*

"Aum! Be it well! [The genealogy of Mahárája SARVVANATHA is given exactly as in No. 6, dated in Samvat 197]. Mahárája Sarvvanâtha, being in prosperity, hereby notifies to all the Brahmans, cultivators, and artisans who dwell in the half village of *Ghotasansi-Kadhepashandika*,[2] that by this grant written on copper I bestow one-half of this village, not liable to the quartering of soldiers and officials, with a fort, &c., together with its whole produce, on *Chotugomika*, that his posterity may enjoy its possession while the sun and moon exist. And *Chotugomika* on his part undertakes to continue the various sacrifices and services required in honour of the goddess *Pṛishṭapurika Devi*. All the rents, taxes, &c., must therefore be paid to him."

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[1] Here occurs a term *Sáshṭadasada virájya*, which my Pandit translates, "In the kingdom of the seventeen great forests;" but the word appears rather to comprise '*ashṭadaṣa*.' or "eighteen."

[2] In No. 4, inscription of Jayanâtha this appears to be *Dhavashandika*.

[Here follows the usual quotation from the Mahâbhârata.]

"This is written in Samvatsara two hundred and fourteen, in the month of Pausha, the sixth day, by Nâtha, the minister for peace and war, son of Manoratha, grandson of Varâhadatta, and great-grandson of Phâlgudattamâtya. Dhritiswamika, agent (*dutika*)."

Stone Pillar No. 9.—RÁJÁS HASTIN *and* SARVVANÂTHA.

"Be it well! Bowing down to the feet of Mahâdeva, this sacrificial pillar (*yashti*) was set up by Siva Dâsa, son of Vasu Srâmika, grandson of the Bhogi (headman) Randana, in the reign of Mahárája HASTIN, * * * Mahárája SARVVANATHA, in the year Mahâ-Mâgha, in the month of Kârtika, the 10th day."

I am quite unable to make any thing of the word which occurs after *rájye*, and immediately preceding the name of Mahárája Sarvvanâtha. I suppose that the pillar may have been set up as a boundary-mark between the territories of the two Rájás. I think it probable that the two principalities ruled over by these petty chiefs may have been the modern districts of Uchahara and Mahiyar: the son of Hastina reigning at *Kho*, and the son of Jayanâtha either at Mahiyar or at Kâri-Tâlai.

DATE OF THE GUPTAS.

For fixing the epoch of the Guptas we have the following data:—

1.—Date of Budha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eran in the year 165, on Thursday the 12th of Ashâdha sudi.

2.—Date of Dhruvabhaṭa in Samvat 447, he being persumably the king of that name who was reigning at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in A. D. 640.

3.—Date of the Morvi copper-plate in the year 585 of the Gupta era on the 5th Phâlgun sudi, at the time of a solar eclipse.[1]

4.—The name of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter in five different inscriptions added to the date of the Gupta era.

I will begin my examination of this question with the date of Dhruvabhaṭa. We now possess a complete list of the kings of Balabhi for twenty successive reigns, ending

[1] The date on the copper-plate is actually 5th *Phâlgun sudi*, which is obviously wrong for the eclipse; but if we suppose that the inscription was engraved on that day, and that the eclipse took place five days earlier, at the *amâwasya*, or conjunction, on the 14th *Mâgh badi*, then the date of *Phâlgun sudi* 5th may stand.

with Dhruvabhaṭa, who is the only king of this name. If, therefore, he is not the Dhruvabhaṭa of Hwen Thsang, his date must be placed earlier than the visit of the Chinese pilgrim by at least one reign. But if we assume that he was the same king, then the beginning of the era will be close upon 447 years earlier than 640 — 447 = 193 A. D. Of course, Dhruvabhaṭa's inscription may be some 25 or 30 years either earlier or later than the pilgrim's visit. In any case, the initial-point of the Gupta era will lie between A. D. 163 and 223.

Accepting this period of 60 years as covering the whole of Dhruvabhaṭa's possible reign, we have now to find some one year within its limit which, taken as the starting-point of the Gupta era, will fulfil the other two conditions of the week-day in Budha Gupta's inscription of 165, and of the solar eclipse of the Morvi inscription in 585 of the era. This I have found in the year 195 A. D., which would be the first year of the era, supposing the Dhruvabhaṭa of the inscription to be the prince of the same name visited by Hwen Thsang. That he must have been so, seems to me to be *almost* certain, as I can find no later initial-point for the era that will agree with the two conditions of the Budha Gupta and Morvi inscriptions. I may mention more particularly that the Balabhi era, which is advocated by Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Burgess as the starting-point of the Gupta kâl, does not agree with either of the two test-dates of the Budha Gupta and Morvi inscriptions, according to my calculations. I may add, also, that it would place Dhruvabhaṭa of the inscription dated in 447 as low as 765 A. D.; that is, in the very middle of the reign of the famous Wan Rájá.

To prevent any misapprehension on this point, I must state that I have calculated both of these test dates myself, with reference to the Balabhi era:—

(1) Date of Budha Gupta in the year 165, on *Thursday* the 12th Ashâdha sudi. By adding 318 + 165, we obtain A. D. 483, on which date the luni-solar year of the Hindus began on a Wednesday. The year was intercalary; but as the additional month was Srâvana, which comes after Ashâdha, the 12th of Ashâdha sudi was the 101st day of the year, equal to *Friday* 3rd June O. S. 483 A. D.

(2) Date of the Morvi inscription in the year 585, on 14th Mâgh badi at the time of a solar eclipse.

Here I read 14th of Mâgha badi, instead of 5th Phâlgun sudi, as given in the plate, for the simple reason that no eclipse of any kind can possibly take place on the fifth of a Hindu lunar month. Now 585 + 318 = 903 A. D.; but as Mâgha is the last month but one of the Hindu year, it will fall in A. D. 904, in which year there was no eclipse of the sun in either Mâgha or Phâlgun.

I return, therefore, to the year 195 A. D., as the probable initial-point of the Gupta era. Taking that year as the year *1 anno Guptæ*, the following are the results of my calculations:—

(1) Date of Budha Gupta in 165, on Thursday 12th Ashâdha Sudi. Adding 165 to 194, we obtain A. D.359, when the Hindu luni-solar year began on Tuesday 16th March O. S. As that year was not intercalary, the 12th of Ashâdha sudi was the 101st day, equal to *Thursday*, the 24th June O. S. 359A.D., as required.

(2) Date of the solar eclipse on 14th Mâgh badi Samvat 585. Adding 194, we obtain A. D. 779; but as Mâgh is the last month but one of the Hindu year, the date will fall in A. D. 780. Now the 14th Mâgh badi fell on 10th February O. S. 780 A. D., on which very day there was an eclipse of the sun visible in Eastern Asia.

Here, then, is a date which successfully fulfils all the three tests to which it has been subjected. It agrees with the week-day recorded in Budha Gupta's pillar inscription; it corresponds precisely with the day of the solar eclipse mentioned in the Morvi inscription; and lastly, it places the period of the only Dhruvabhaṭa yet found in the Balabhi inscriptions in the year 641 A. D. [447+194], just one year after the date of Hwen Thsang's visit to Balabhi, when the reigning prince actually bore that name.

The fourth test of the dates recorded in the 12-year cycle of Jupiter I am unable to apply at present, for want of exact information about the cycle itself. All the authorities agree that the 12 years bear the same names as the 12 months, and follows in the same order, each being distinguished by the prefix of Mahâ, as Mahâ Chaitra, Mahâ Vaisâkha, &c. The years are solar years, which are named after the nakshatra or lunar asterism in which Jupiter rises or sets, provided the asterism is one which gives its name to a month.

The 27 nakshatras are, therefore, divided into 12 groups, some of 2 and some of 3 asterisms. Thus Aswini and Bharani are grouped together; and should Jupiter rise or set in Bharani, the year must be called Aswayuja, because Aswini is the name-giver of the month. Now, as Jupiter performs one-twelfth of a revolution in 361·0267 days, he passes through 86-twelfths in 85 solar years. Consequently one of the Jovian names has to be omitted in every period of 85 solar years. In the 60-year cycle the 86th year is regularly expunged in Northern India. But for the 12-year cycle a different arrangement was adopted; the names of Chaitra and Aswayuja being alternately omitted. As these two names are derived from exactly opposite asterisms, the period of omission must have been sometimes more and sometimes less than 85 years. I have not yet discovered any statement as to the precise arrangement adopted; but I find that a series of three periods, two composed of 89 years each, and one of 77 years, or altogether 255 years, gives a mean period of exactly 85 years. The true period, as stated by Aryabhaṭṭa and Varâha Mihira, is $85\frac{5}{22}$, or 85·227 years; and as the fraction would amount to 331 days in four periods, one of the omitted names should have been allowed to stand after four periods, which would have made the average period very nearly exact, as the fraction, ·227 of a year, multiplied by nine, gives only ·043 in excess of 2 years. But as I do not find any trace of such an adjustment, I presume that the fraction was disregarded in calculation.

According to my approximate calculation, which places the establishment of the Gupta era in A. D. 194, and the completed year 1 in A. D. 195, the year Mahâ Vaisâkha of Râja Hastin, which was the year 156 of the Gupta era, would correspond with 194 + 156 = A. D. 350. Taking this year as the starting-point of the inscriptions bearing double dates in the Gupta era, and also in the 12-year cycle of Jupiter, the following will be their corresponding dates in the Christian era.

	Gupta era.	12-year cycle of Jupiter.	A. D.	
Mahârâja Hastin ...	156	Mahâ Vaisâkha ...	350	
Ditto ...	173	Mahâ Aswayuja ...	367	
Ditto ...	191	Mahâ Chaitra ...	385	
Mahârâjas Hastin & Sarvanâth.	...	Mahâ Mâgha ...	395	or perhaps 383.
Mahârâja Sankshobha ...	209	Mahâ Aswayuja ...	403	

As the number of years elapsed between 156 and 209, or 53 years, divided by 12, leave five over, we learn that no Jovian year was omitted during this period, as Aswayuja is the fifth name after Vaisâkha.

In his account of Indian eras, Abu Rihân speaks of the Gupta kâl and the Balabhi kâl as if they were the same, and he fixes the initial-point of the latter in Saka 241, or A. D. 319. But, as I have already shown, this could not have been the starting-point of the era of the Guptas, as it disagrees with the week-day of Budha Gupta's inscription. Neither could it have been the starting-point of the era used by the Balabhi kings themselves, as it disagrees with the date of Dhruvabhaṭa. My impression is, that Abu Rihân had found that the Guptas and Balabhis actually used the same era; and as he knew that the era called the Balabhi kâl began in Saka 241, or A. D. 319, he took it for granted that this was the era used by the Gupta and Balabhi kings. At the same time he knew that the Guptas preceded the Balabhis, as he distinctly states that "the era which bore their name was the epoch of their extermination." According to Abu Rihân's views therefore, the Gupta power in Western India was extinct in A. D. 319. But we have an inscription of Skanda Gupta, carved on the rock of Junagarh in Surâshtra, which is dated in 138 and 139 of the Gupta kâl. The Gupta dominion was, therefore, still intact in Surâshtra so late as 139 + 194 = 333 A. D. I conclude, therefore, that the Balabhi era, which began in A. D. 319, had no connection whatever with the downfall of the Gupta dynasty.

Having established this point, as I believe, satisfactorily, it remains to be shown how the epoch of 195 A. D., as the 1st year of the Gupta era, agrees with the data which may be gathered from other sources.

(1) The Senâpati Bhaṭṭâraka is supposed to have become virtually independent on the death of Skanda Gupta; but as the title of Mahárája was not assumed until the accession of his second son, Drona Sinha, who himself states that he was "installed by the king of the whole world," I conclude, with some certainty, that Balabhi was an acknowledged dependency of the Gupta kingdom until the time of Drona Sinha. Now, the earliest inscription of his successor, Dhruva Sena I., is dated in 207, which, referred to the Gupta era, is equivalent to A. D. 401. If we place the beginning

of his reign in A. D 390, that of his elder brother, Drona Sinha, may certainly be placed as early as 365 or 370, which would make him a contemporary of Budha Gupta, whose coins are dated in 174 of the Gupta era, or A. D. 368.[1] Drona Sinha would, therefore, have been installed by Budha Gupta.

(2) The coins of Toramâna, who certainly succeeded to the power of Budha Gupta in Mâlava, are dated in 52 and 53.[2] If we refer these dates to the Balabhi era of 319, we obtain 318 + 52 = 370 and 371 A. D. as the period of Toramâna's occupation of the Narbada districts of the Gupta empire. Now, the pillar of Budha Gupta at Eran is dated in 165 of the Gupta era, or A. D. 359, and his silver coins in 174, or A. D. 368, both of which dates are compatible with the subsequent erection at Eran of the boar statue in the first year of Toramâna's reign by the same person, Dhanya Vishnu, who set up Budha Gupta's pillar.

According to these determinations, the approximate Gupta chronology will stand as follows:—

A. D.	Gupta era.	Balabhi era.	
135	...	...	Sri Gupta.
165	...	...	Ghatot Kacha.
194	0	...	Establishment of the Gupta era.
195	1	...	CHANDRA GUPTA I.
230	36	...	SAMUDRA GUPTA, Parâkrama.
264	70	...	CHANDRA GUPTA II, Vikrama, dates 82, 93.
290	96	...	KUMÂRA GUPTA, Mahendra, dates 96, 130.
319	115	1	20th year of Kumâra, Balabhi era established.
324	130	6	(DEVA GUPTA ?)
329	135	11	SKANDA GUPTA, Kramâditya, dates 138, 146.
339	145	21	(Senapati Bhaṭâraka, Governor of Surâshtra.)
349	155	31	BUDHA GUPTA, dates 165-174-180 odd.
360	166	42	(Sridhara Sena, son of Bhaṭaraka.)
366	172	48	Mahârâja Drona Sinha, installed by Budha Gupta.
369	175	51	Toramâna, dates 52-53.

Silver coins of the Guptas and their successors.

In discussing the epoch of the Gupta kings, I have referred to the dates on their coins, as well as on those of Toramâna, the immediate successor of Budha Gupta in Mâlava. As I have lately acquired some coins of at least two other princes of Northern India, and have succeeded

[1] I have since obtained another coin of Budha Gupta, of which the decimal figure is 80.

[2] These dates have hitherto been read as 82 and 83; but as the figures 2 and 3 are *invariably* formed by *horizontal* strokes, the decimal number placed above them becomes 50, and cannot, therefore, have any connection with the Gupta era.

in reading the inscriptions on the coins of two other princes of Southern India, all of whom were the immediate successors of the Guptas, I take this opportunity of reviewing in detail the whole series of the silver coins of these princes now known to us.

The silver money of the Guptas presents such a marked difference to their gold coinage, and at the same time has such a striking resemblance to the silver coins of the Satraps of Surâshtra, that there can be no doubt it was a direct imitation of the Satrap coinage. The fact that we possess gold coins of Ghatot Kacha, Chandra Gupta I, and Samudra Gupta, while the silver coinage begins only with Chandra Gupta II, points to the same conclusion, as we learn from tradition that Surâshtra was first added to the Gupta dominions during the reign of that prince.

The coins of the Satraps present us on the obverse with a royal head, surrounded by a legend in barbarous Greek letters, and with the date in old Indian numerals behind the head. On the reverse there is a Chaitya symbol, with the sun and moon to the right and left, surrounded by an Indian legend, giving the name of the Satrap and that of his father. On the coins of Chandra Gupta II, the obverse presents us with the head of the king, without any Greek letters, and with the date placed in front of the face. On the reverse the Chaitya symbol is replaced by a peacock, with outspread wings and drooping tail. On one class of the coins of Kumâra Gupta the barbarous Greek legend still appears; but the letters appear to be confined to a repetition of ONONO. On the reverse is a figure, which I take to be that of a peacock standing to the front with outspread wings, but with the tail hanging behind unseen. Mr. Thomas takes this for a figure of Pârvati; but, to my eye, the device appears to be a simple peacock. On some of the later coins of Skanda Gupta a recumbent bull takes the place of the peacock.

On the coins of Bhima Sena, Toramâna, and Sânti Varma, their successors in Northern India, the king's face is turned to the left. The date is still placed in front of the face; but it no longer refers to the Gupta era. The reverse, however, is still the same peacock, with expanded wings and outspread tail. On the coins of the princes of Western India, the Valabhis and Râshtrakutas, the head faces to the right, but there are no letters or date; while on the reverse the

former substitutes the *trisúl*, or trident, of Siva, and the latter a recumbent bull, which is also a symbol of Siva. With these few explanatory remarks, I now proceed to describe the coins, which are principally taken from my own cabinet. The normal weight of the coins was about 30 or 32 grains. Several of the early pieces, which are much worn, are lighter; while some of the later ones, containing alloy, are heavier, rising to 34 and 35 grains. The whole of these coins are arranged in the accompanying plate.[1]

CHANDRA GUPTA II.

Vikrama.

No. 1.—Obv.: Head of the king to right, with long hair and moustaches, and a collar round the neck. Remains of barbarous Greek letters.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front with expanded wings. To the right a sun or star. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Sri Guptakulasya Mahárájadhirája Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramárángkasya* = "Coin of the king of kings, Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramángka, the descendant of Sri Gupta."

Only four specimens of this coin are known to me: one which belonged to the late Mr. Freeling, first published by Mr. Thomas; two belonging to Sir E. C. Bayley; and the fourth to myself.

No. 2.—Obv.: Head of king to right with moustaches, as on No. 1. Traces of a barbarous Greek legend.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front with expanded wings. Sun or star to right. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Parama bhágavata Mahárájádhirájá Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramáditya* = "The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, the king of kings, Sri Chandra Gupta Vikramâditya."

No. 3.—Similar to No. 2, but the letters smaller.

The two coins given in the plate belong to my own cabinet. Mr. Newton and Sir E. C. Bayley have published similar coins which they attribute to *Bakra* Gupta. But I look upon the name so read as only an *imperfect* rendering of Chandra. The title of Vikramâditya, which was certainly borne by Chandra Gupta II, is also in favour of my views, as we have not yet found two Gupta kings bearing the same titles. Sir E. C. Bayley's reading of the date on his coin

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[1] See Plate V. All the sketches are from photographs.

as 90 is another strong evidence against any Bakra Gupta, as we know that Chandra Gupta II was reigning in 93, and Kumâra Gupta in 96. Up to the present time, therefore, I remain quite unconvinced of the reality of Bakra Gupta. I may add that the coins attributed to Bakra Gupta have a sun or star, beside the peacock, as on the acknowledged coins of Chandra Gupta.

KUMARA GUPTA.

No. 4.—Obv.: Head of the king, with moustaches to the right. Barbarous Greek letters. On some specimens I have noticed traces of a date behind the head.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front with outspread wings. No sun or star. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Parama bhágavata Rájádhirájá Sri Kumára Gupta Mahendráditya* = "The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, the king of kings Sri Kumâra Gupta Mahendrâditya.

No. 5.—Similar to No. 4, but the king's head larger, and with the expanded title of *Mahárájádhirája.*

No. 6.—Obv.: King's head, without moustaches, to right. In front of the face the date 129.

No. 7.—Obv.: Similar head with the date of 130.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with outspread wings and expanded tail. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Devajanita vijitávaniravanipati Kumára Gupta.* "His Majesty Kumâra Gupta, having conquered the earth, rules."

SKANDA GUPTA—KRAMÂDITYA.

No. 8.—Obv.: King's head with moustaches, to right.

Rev.—Chaitya symbol. Legend in old Gupta characters very much crowded together: Mâharájá Kumâraputra Parama Mahâditya Mahárája Skanda Gupta?

Mr. Newton has published a similar coin,[1] of which he remarks that the title of Mahárája refers it to the Gupta series, while the addition of the father's name forms a connecting link with the coins of the Satraps of Surâshtra.

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[1] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, VII, p. 12, and fig. 13.

Mr. Newton reads the name of the king as Rudra or Nanda. I think, however, that it is intended for Skanda Gupta, the letters being so crowded together, that only portions of them could be delineated on the coin. I should like to have read Deva Gupta; but there is a tail to the second letter on both coins, which points to *nd* or *ndr*. Perhaps the name may be *Chandra Gupta III*, which would be a natural appellation of Kumâra's eldest son, as it has always been a Hindu custom to name one child after its grandfather, just as Kumâra's own father Chandra Gupta II was named after *his* grandfather Chandra Gupta I.

No. 9.—Obv.: Head of king without moustaches to right. In front of the face the date 144.

No. 10.—Obv.: Similar to No. 9, but with the date 145.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with expanded wings and outspread tail. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Devajanita vijitâvaniravanipati Skanda Gupta* = "His Majesty Skanda Gupta, having conquered the earth, rules."

No. 11.—Obv.: Rude head of king with moustaches to right. Two characters on helmet, and rude Greek letters in front of face.

Rev.—Very rude representation of the peacock with expanded wings standing to front. Legend in old Gupta characters, as read by Mr. Thomas: *Parama bhágavata Sri Skanda Gupta Kramáditya* = "The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, Sri Skanda Gupta Kramâditya."

No. 12.—Obv.: Rude head of king to right without moustaches.

Rev.—Recumbent bull to right. Legend in old Gupta characters, as read by Mr. Thomas: *Parama bhágavata Sri Skanda Gupta Kramáditya* = "The worshipper of the Supreme Bhagavata, Sri Skanda Gupta Kramâditya."

BUDHA GUPTA.

No. 13.—Obv.: Head of king to right, without moustaches. In front of face the date 174.[1]

[1] This date is read as 155 by Mr. Thomas; but the value of the decimal is known from my Jayanâth inscription, which is recorded in words as well as figures. A second specimen which I have since acquired has the decimal figure 80.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with outspread tail and expanded wings. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Deva-jayate vijitávaniravanipati Sri Budha Gupta* = "His Majesty Budha Gupta, who has subdued the earth, rules."

I obtained *five* of these coins at Benares in 1835, of which impressions are now before me. All are dated in 174, as in my specimen in the plate.

BHIMA SENA.

We have now seen the last of the Guptas as represented by the silver coins, and have to deal with their successors, who continued the peacock device on their coins, but turned the faces of the obverse to the left, as if to denote the change of dynasty which had taken place. But the dates still keep their position in front of the face, although it is difficult to read them from their incompleteness. I have placed Bhima Sena before Toramâna on account of the superior execution of his coin. The specimen in the plate was obtained by Mr. Rivett-Carnac at Ajudhya, and is, I believe, unique.

No. 16.—Obv.: Head of king to left, with portions of the date in front of face.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with outspread wings and expanded tail, copied from the Gupta coins. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Devajánita vijitávaniravanipati Sri Bhima Sena* = "His Majesty Bhima Sena, who has subdued the earth, rules."

No. 17.—Obv.: Head of king to left.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, very much worn; only a few letters of the legend are visible. I can read the word *Deva* at the beginning of the legend, and immediately preceding it I read the letters *sara* or *sana*. The coin may possibly belong to Bhima Sena, but this reading is doubtful.

TORAMÂNA.

No. 18.—Obv.: Head of king to left. Date in front of the face 52.

Rev.—Rude peacock standing to front, with outspread wings and expanded tail. Legend in old Gupta characters:

Devajanita vijitâvaniravanipati Sri Toramâna = "His Majesty Sri Tromana, having subduded the earth, rules."

No. 19.—Similar to No. 18, but dated in 53.

The two representations in the plate are taken from Mr. Thomas's autotypes of the coins. The dates are perfectly clear, and can only be read as 52 and 53.

The late Dr. Bhau Daji and Babu Rajendra Lâla Mittra have, independently of each other, proposed to identify this Toramâna, the king of kings of Mâlava, with the Yuva Râjá, or sub-king Toramâna of Kashmir, who spent the greater part of his life in prison in his native country. The identification appears to me to be utterly impossible, and I only mention it for the purpose of recording my dissent. All that we know of Toramâna of Mâlava is, that he ruled over the country between the Jumna and the Narbada, as shown by the inscription placed on the Great Boar at Eran in the first year of his own reign, and by the inscription set up in the temple of the Sun at Gwalior by the minister of his son Paṣupati.

ṢÂNTI VARMA.

No. 20.—Obv.: Head of king to left, with imperfect date in front of face.

Rev.—Peacock standing to front, with expanded wings and outspread tail. Legend in old Gupta characters: *Devajanita vijitâvaniravanipati Ṣri Ṣânti Varma* = "His Majesty Sânti Varma, having conquered the earth, rules."

Nos. 21 and 22.—Similar coins, but less perfect. The first coin, No. 20, was procured at Rámnagar in Rohilkhand, the ancient Ahichhatra. The others were obtained by Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac at Ajudhya. The date appears to be the same on all the three specimens in the plate. I read it as 55, and would complete it to 155 if I could be certain that this Sânti Varma is the same as the king who is mentioned in the Aphsar inscription.[1] The genealogy recorded in this inscription gives (1) Krishna Gupta; (2) Harsha Gupta;

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[1] In my first Report, Archæological Survey of India, I, p. 40, I mentioned that this important inscription was missing. The stone is still missing, but a beautiful impression of it taken by Major Kittoe himself was found by Mr. Beglar in the Asiatic Society's Library. The translation given by Babu Rajendra Lala was made from a Nâgari transcript prepared by Kittoe. In this transcript I have now found that Kittoe has misread *Harsha* Gupta as Hashka Gupta: see Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, p. 272.

(3) Jivita Gupta ; (4) Kumâra Gupta ; (5) Dâmodara Gupta ; (6) Mahâsena Gupta ; (7) Mâdhava Gupta. Of the fourth of these kings, Kumâra Gupta, it is recorded that "he, with a view to obtain Lakshmi, assuming the form of Mount Mandâra, churned the milky ocean produced by the forces of the moon like king Ṣânti Varma." Regarding the date of these Guptas, all that we can say at present is, that they must be placed before the famous Ṣaṣângka Narendra Gupta, who destroyed the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya, close to A. D. 600. A family of seven kings would reign about 175 to 200 years, which would place Krishna Gupta about A. D. 400, and Kumâra Gupta II about A. D. 490. If, therefore, we reckon Ṣânti Varma's coin date of 155 from the same starting-point as the dates on Toramâna's coins, we shall get 155 + 318 = 473 for the date of Ṣânti Varma, which agrees very well with the approximate date obtained for his antagonist, Kumâra Gupta. But these dates are still only approximate, although they are sufficiently accurate to fix the period of Ṣânti Varma and Kumâra Gupta II somewhere in the fifth century of the Christian era.

SENAPATI BHAṬÂRAKA.

The remaining coins belong to the princes of Southern India, who succeeded to the power of the Guptas. Of these, the most famous were the rulers of Valabhi, who traced their genealogy up to the Senapati Bhaṭâraka. As his title implies, he was only the "general" of some powerful king ; and I am willing to accept Major Watson's traditionary account, that he was the Governor of Surâshtra, under Skanda Gupta. As his eldest son Sri Dhara Sena takes only the same simple title, I conclude that he remained tributary to Budha Gupta. His second son Drona Sinha, however, not only bears the title of Mahârájá, but records that he was installed "by the king of the whole world." As I have already pointed out, this was probably the last act of supreme sovereignty performed by Budha Gupta, which was most probably forced upon him by the combined action of Drona Sinha of Surâshtra and Toramâna of Mâlava. This, at least, is my view of the relations between these kings, which tends to confirm the traditionary account regarding Senâpati Bhaṭâraka, and to place him as the Governor of Surâshtra

shortly after Skanda Gupta's death. The coins which I am now about to describe seem also to confirm this state of things, as I read on them the title of *Ṣámanta*, which is equivalent to the *Ṣenápati* of the inscriptions.

No. 23.—Obv.: Head of king with moustaches to the right; two crescents on the head-dress or helmet. No trace of any legend or date.

Rev.—The *trisul* or trident of Siva. Legend in modified Gupta characters. *Mahárájno Mahákshatra parama Sámanta Mahá Sri Bhaṭṭárakasa.*

One of Mr. Newton's coins and several of my own seem to read: *Rájno Mahákshatra paramáditya Rájno Sámanta Mahá Sri Bhaṭṭárakasa.*

Both of these legends seem to me to refer distinctly to Bhaṭâraka himself; and therefore the coins must be assigned to the founder of the dynasty. No. 25 has the same legend, with several of the letters that are missing on No. 23.

No. 24.—Obv.: Head of the king with moustaches to right.

Rev.—Trisul, or trident, of Siva. Legend in modified Gupta characters. *Mahárájno Mahákshatra Sámanta Mahesa Pramáditya Dhara Senasa ?*

The coin represented in the plate was obtained by me at Pushkar near Ajmer. A similar coin has been published by Mr. Newton.[1] The reading of the name is very doubtful. I possess several other coins of the same types, but of much ruder execution, which I would assign to some of the later kings of Valabhi. The legends are much contracted, and are quite unintelligible, as at least one-half of the symbols are mere upright strokes with a knob at the top, like a common pin.

KRISHNA-RAJA.

No. 26.—Obv.—Rude head of king with moustaches to right. No trace of legend or date.

Rev.—Recumbent bull to right; legend in modified Gupta characters:

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[1] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, VII, p. 14, and accompanying plate, fig. 71.

Parama Maheswara, Mahâditya pâdânudhyâta Sri Krishna Rájá=

"The Supreme King, the worshipper of Mahâditya (Siva), the fortunate Krishna Rájá."

Photographs of five coins of this type have already been published, with some remarks by the late Dr. Bhau Dâji,[1] He mentions that 83 coins were found by some boys in the village of Deolânâ, Tâlukâ Bôglân, in the district of Nâsik. The coins vary in weight from 30 to 34 grains, the average weight being 33½ grains. Bhau Dâji's tentative reading is:

Rájá parama Maheswara mânasa nripa Deva dhyâna Sri Kas. ?

He concludes by stating his opinion that "the coins belong to a king, probably of the Dakhin, about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era." I am glad to be able to quote the opinion of one who had such an intimate knowledge of the coins of this early period, as my attribution of the coins to Krishna Rájá Râshtrakuṭa assigns them to exactly the same time. Krishna Rájá's date is fixed within very narrow limits by the mention of his name in the early Châlukya inscriptions. He was the father of Indra Râshtrakuta, who was defeated by Jaya Sinha Châlukya, the grandfather of Sri Vijaya Rájá, of whom we possess an inscription dated in Saka 394, or A. D. 179. Jaya Sinha's own date will, therefore, be about A. D. 400 to 430, and that of Krishna Rájá Râshtrakuṭa, the father of his antagonist Indra, will be A. D. 375 to 400.

On some of my coins the word which I have read as *Mahâditya* may perhaps be *Mahâkshatra*, in which case the translation would be "the reverencer of the great king," that is, the Châlukya sovereign of Kalyân. The word which I have read as *pádánudhyáta* is quite clear and unmistakable. It means, literally, "bowing down to the feet," and is used by a son towards his father, or by any king towards his predecessor, or by any person towards the god whom he especially worships. On some of the coins the final letter *ja* is omitted, and I was at first inclined to assign the coins to Kumâra (Gupta), the reverencer of the feet of the great king (his father Chandra Gupta). But the second letter of the name is not the same as is found in *parama*, &c., and the addition of *ja* would be left unexplained. Its omission on some coins was no doubt simply due to the faulty calculation of his space on the part of the engraver.

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[1] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, XII, 214.

The only possible objection to this identification that occurs to me is the type, the recumbent bull, which is found on all the seals of the Valabhi kings, and which was no doubt their acknowledged symbol or ensign. But as the same bull is found on the coins of the Guptas themselves, as well as on the coins of some of the Nine Nâgas, there does not seem to be any reason why the Râshtrakuṭas should not have adopted it also. Their own proper symbol was Garuḍ, the eagle of Vishnu. But we have in later times an exactly similar adoption of the symbol of another dynasty by the *Raṭhors* of Kanauj and the *Chandels* of Mahobâ, both of whom placed on their coins the four-armed goddess Durgâ, which was the ensign of the Haihayas of Chedi, whose coins they copied.

8.—PATAINI DEVI.

Eight miles to the north of Uchahara, and 4 miles to the east of Pithaora, the temple of Pataini Devi forms a conspicuous object in the treeless landscape, standing out boldly on a low projecting spur of the lofty hill whose quarries furnished the stones of the Bharhut sculptures. The temple itself is a very small one, being only 6 feet ten inches long by 6 feet 6 inches broad. But it is remarkable for its massive stones, and more particularly for its flat roof, which is formed of a single slab, 7 feet 8 inches by 7 feet 4 inches, after the manner of the early Gupta temples.[1] Inside the temple is only 5 feet by 4 feet, with a door of one foot 10½ inches. The pedestal of the enshrined statue occupies the whole breadth of the sanctum. The figure of the goddess is 3½ feet high, and she is surrounded by a number of small figures, of which there are 5 above, 7 to the right, 7 to the left, and 4 below. Her four arms have been broken off, so that she now holds no symbols by which she could be recognised. But luckily the small figures have their names labelled below them in characters of the 10th or 11th century. Thus the five figures above, which are all females, are named *Bahurupiṇi*, *Châmuṛâ*, *Padumâvati*, *Vijayâ*, and *Sarâsati*. The seven to the left are named *Aparâjita*, *Mahâ munusi*, *Anantamati*, *Gandhâri*, *Mânasi jâla mâlini* and *Mânuji*. The seven to the right are named *Jayâ*, *Anantamati*, *Vairâtâ*, *Gauri*, *Kâli*, *Mahâkâli*, and *Vrijamsakalâ*. Over the doorway

[1] See the plan and view of this temple in Plate VI.

outside there are three figures,each squatted with hands on lap. The middle figure has an umbrella canopy and a bull on the pedestal, and is probably the Jain hierach Adinâth. The figures to the right and left have each a snake on the pedestal, the former being canopied by a seven-headed serpent, and the latter by a five-headed serpent. These three figures have such a decided Jainish appearance, that I feel satisfied that the enshrined goddess must belong to the Jains. This conclusion is supported by the inferior positions assigned to the Brahmanical goddesses which surround the principal figure. On the outside of the temple also, both Siva and Pârvati are represented in subordinate positions. The enshrined goddess is further attended by two lines of standing male figures, who are quite naked, and whose hands reach below their knees, in strict accordance with the Jain idea of human proportions.

The temple appears to be much older than the earliest date which can be assigned to the inscriptions. It is, of course, possible that the names may have been added long after the statue was set up. But I incline rather to the belief, that the present statue is of the same age as the inscriptions, and that it was set up in the old temple which had been for a long time empty.

The temple itself is remarkable for two lines of moulding which run right round the building, after the fashion of the mouldings of the early Gupta temples. These are well shown in the accompanying plate.[1] I am therefore strongly inclined to place the date of the temple as early as the time of the Guptas, and to identify it with the shrine of the goddess Pishṭapurika Devi, for whose service three of the land grants which were recorded in the copper-plate inscriptions previously noted were made by three different Rájás. There was formerly a portico in front of the door, supported on two pilasters, and two pillars in front. This is proved beyond all doubt by the angular ends of the architrave beam over the door, which must have been cut in this form to admit the similar angular ends of the architraves which spanned the spaces between the front pillars and the wall pilasters.

An attempt has been made to pull down the temple by wedging out two of the corner stones of the back wall. These are now sticking out from the building upwards of

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[1] See Plate VI.

one foot. Apparently the destroyers were suddenly interrupted. The people of the neighbouring village were unable, or perhaps only unwilling, to say by whom the attempt was made.

9.—MAHIYAR.

Mahiyar, the capital of a small chiefship of the same name, is a good-sized town of about 2,500 houses. Its happy situation near the source of the Tons river at the northern end of an obligatory pass, leading from Allahabad and Benares to Jabalpur and the Narbada, must have ensured its occupation at a very early period. At the present day it is known chiefly for its famous temple of the goddess Saraswati, whose shrine crowns an isolated and lofty conical hill, three miles to the west of the town. Only the basement of the old temple now remains; but the statue of the goddess is still there, and under her name of Sârddâ Devi she is more widely known than any other deity between the Jumna and Narbada. She is represented, as usual, with four arms and sitting on a *hansa*, or goose. One of her hands is lost; a second carries a book, as the goddess of learning; and the other two hold the *viná*, or lute, as the goddess of music. The famous Banâphar hero, Alhâ, is said to have paid especial worship to Sârddâ Devi, and to have built her temple. Upwards of twenty Brahman *pujáris* ascend the hill every morning, and remain throughout the day to receive the gifts of the numerous pilgrims who flock to the shrine.

Lying outside the temple there is a long inscription of 39 lines, very much worn by exposure to the weather. The slab is 3 feet 4 inches long by 2 feet 10 inches broad, with the first and last lines incised on the surrounding frame. The record opens with an invocation to Saraswati, "*Aum namah Saraswatye*," but the whole inscription is so much injured, that I am afraid it will never be deciphered.

Under the figure of the goddess, there is also a short inscription of four lines, which are so worn away, that I could read only the name of *Váchaspatih* at the end of the second line.

From the shapes of the letters, I think that these two inscriptions may be assigned to the ninth or tenth century.

At the small village of Râmpur on the tableland seven miles to the west of Mahiyar, and near a small temple, there

is a Sati pillar, with an inscription of five lines containing the name of a Rájá. The fourth and fifth lines are injured, but the greater part of the record is fairly legible. I read it as follows, retaining the faulty spelling of the original:—

1. *Samvat 1404 varshe Phâlguna badi 14 some-swasti.*
2. *Sri parmma (sic) bhaṭáraka parameswara Sañkapa prapa*
3. *ti ráje Mahárája Sri Víra Rája Deva vela pawa Sri.*
4. * *rata saura* * * *Siromani Mahâdevya sati Taladevya sati ka.*
5. * * * * * *likhitam Kurma Pâñde.*

The main subject of the inscription is luckily in good order, and records that "on the 14th of the waning moon of Phâlgun, in the Samvat year 1404 [A. D. 1347], Siromani and Tala, the queens of Mahârájá Sri Vira Rájá Deva, became Satis; written by Kurma Pâñde."

Above the inscription there is the usual representation of an outstretched hand, with the sun and moon in one compartment, below which there is a lingam with the two Sati queens kneeling before it, one on each side. In another compartment the corpse of the Rájá is seen lying at full length on a bedstead, with a female touching his feet; and in the left-hand corner there is a boar. This last figure is, I think, intended to represent the manner of the Rájá's death at a boar hunt. As I failed altogether in obtaining a copy of the genealogy of the Rájás of Uchahaṛa, I am unable to say whether the above Vira Rájá Deva was one of the Parihâr ancestors of the present family.

10.—BILHARI.

The old town of Bilhari is situated 10 miles to the west of the Katni railway station, and about half-way between Bharhut and Jabalpur. It was formerly a place of considerable importance, as shown by its ruined temples and fine tanks. Its original name is said to have been Puphâvati (or Pushpâvati), "the town of flowers," and it is said to have been founded by Rájá Karn Dâhariya in the time of Bhartṛi, or Bhartrihari, the brother of Vikramâditya. The name of Puphâvati is recorded to have lasted down to the tenth century of the Samvat, after which time it was superseded by that of the Bilahari or Bilhari. Nearly all the existing remains, including the fort and the magnificent tank called *Lakshman Ságar*, are attributed to Rájá Lakshman Sinh

Parihâr, who is said to have lived about 900 years ago. The only old temple now standing, named Vishnu Varâha, is also assigned to him. It is sad to see the wreck of so many temples; but the work of destruction is not of recent date, as I counted no less than *ninety-five* carved stone pillars in the private houses of the town, and in other places not attached to temples. Some stones are said to have been carried off to build a bridge at Katni; but these were specially stated to have been taken from the old ruined temple (Maṛh or Maṭh) mentioned in the Central Provinces Gazetteer.

The only remains of any consequence now existing at Bilhari are the great tank of Lakshman Sâgar, the small tank of Dhabora Tâl, the Vishnu Varâha temple, and the ruined temple known as the palace of Kâm Kandalâ.

The Lakshman Sâgar is a fine sheet of clear water, about half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad. At the time of my visit, in February, it was 15 feet deep, and it is said to rise five or six feet higher during the annual rains, up to the bed of a side channel, cut through the rock to carry off the higher flood. In February the water was two or three feet higher than the floors of the houses in the town. All the well water is said to be bad, and the people universally drink that of the Lakshman Sâgar, in which no one is allowed to wash any clothes, although every one bathes in it.

There was formerly a temple in the middle of the tank, which fell down and disappeared. But in very dry seasons, when the waters are low, the ruins become visible. A bamboo now marks the site of the temple. The tank is full of crocodiles, which chiefly remain at the hill end and come out in the early morning to bask in the sun. The excavation of the tank is always attributed to Lakshman *Sinh* Parihâr; but there is a story of a Rájá Lakshman *Sen* who had a very beautiful daughter married to a Gond chief. She bore a son named *Magardhwaj*, who succeeded to the throne, and became the first Gond king of Bilhari. Some of his descendants are now living in the village of *Magardhá*, 8 miles to the north-west under the hill. Some people, however, say that the mother was carried off by a crocodile. It seems possible, therefore, that *Magardhwaj* may have been the name of the Gond chief, and not of the son. The story, however, clearly points to the transfer of power from the Parihârs to the Gonds.

The Dhabora Tâl is a pretty sheet of water in a valley to the west of the town. On its bank there is a famous figure of a snake, which is worshipped daily by anointments of ghee and red-lead and copious libations of water. The snake called *Nág Deo* is sculptured on a slab 4 feet 2½ inches high and 20 inches broad. It has a single head, with a broad hood and a long body, which is twisted below in a number of graceful convolutions. There are two lines of writing, but the characters are too much worn to be deciphered.

The Vishnu Varâha temple is said to have been built of the stones of an old temple which were brought from the south Patpara hill about 300 or 400 years ago, either by Lakshman Sen, or by Lakshman Sinh Parihâr, or by some one unknown. The period of 300 or 400 years ago will suit the story of Lakshman Sena, whose daughter married the Gond chief; and this late date will account for the fact that the temple has been built of old materials. The only sculpture that requires notice is a gigantic bracket capital lying in front of the door, and which probably formed part of the portico. The pillars of the portico are gone, and the only part of the temple now standing is the sanctum. This grand bracket is five feet four inches across, the diameter of the circular portion of the true capital being exactly three feet, and that of the octagonal shaft one foot ten inches. I found four pillar shafts in the village, each nine feet high and 21 inches in diameter, which I conclude must have belonged to the same temple. There is now no trace of any building on the south Patpara hill, the whole of the stones having been carried off.

The temple known as the "palace of Kâm Kandalâ" is situated on the *Patpara* Pahâr or "tableland hill" to the west of the town. It is now a mere heap of ruins, the great blocks of stone of the upper walls having fallen down in a confused heap on the floor of the building. After cutting some bushes, and pushing aside some of the smaller stones, I found that Kâm Kandalâ's palace was only a temple of Mahâdeva, with the *lingam* and *argha* still standing *in situ* in the ruined sanctum. The entrance of the temple faced the west, which is a very unusual arrangement, except where the building forms one of the subordinate shrines grouped around a large temple. But this could not have been the case with Kâm Kandalâ's so-called palace, as it is a large building, 54 feet in length by 32 feet in breadth, with pillars in the mahâmandapa, or great hall,

10 feet 8½ inches in height. The plan of the temple and a specimen of the pillars are shown in the accompanying plate.[1]

About three-quarters of a mile down the hill to the south-west there is a court-yard, 200 feet square, surrounding the ruins of a second temple. This is universally known by the name of *hástal*, or the "elephant stables," where Kâm Kandalâ is said to have kept her elephants.

The legend of Kâm Kandalâ is as follows: In Puphâvatinagari [the old name of Bilhari] reigned Rájá Govind Rao in the Samvat year 919, or A. D. 862. He had a very handsome Brahman attendant named Mâdhavânal, who was specially skilful in singing and dancing, as well as an adept in all arts and sciences, so that all the women fell in love with him. The husbands complained to the Rájá, and Mâdhavânal was banished from Puphâvati. He retired to Kâmvati, the capital of Rájá Kâm Sen, who was fond of music and singing, and gave the Brahman a place in his *Sabhá*, or assembly. This Rájá had a most beautiful woman named Kâm Kandalâ, with whom Mâdhavânal fell in love, for which he was expelled from Kâmvati. He then went to Ujain, and asked a boon from Rájá Vikramâditya, who was famed for granting every request that was made to him. The promise was duly made, and the Brahman claimed to have Kâm Kandalâ given up to him. Vikramâditya accordingly besieged Kâmvati, and captured Kâm Kandalâ, who was at once made over to Mâdhavânal. After some time, with Vikrama's permission, the happy pair retired to Puphâvati, where Mâdhava built a palace for Kâm Kandalâ on the Patpara hill, which is universally identified with the ruined temple of Mahâdeva, just described. Many of the stones are said to have been carried away in Samvat 1919 or A. D. 1862 to build a bridge at Katni.

The names of *Mádhavánal* or "sweet-flame" and *Kám Kandalá*, or "love-gilder," are the well-known appellations of the hero and heroine of the popular love story, called *Mádhavánalakathá*. There is a copy of this legend in the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, which was written as far back as Samvat 1587 or A. D. 1530. According to the analysis of Babu Rajendra Lâla, it recounts the amours of Mâdhavânal and Kâm Kandalâ, who are said to

[1] See Plate VII.

have resided at Pushpâvati in the neighbourhood of the palace of King Govinda Chandra.[1] In the legend he is called simply Govind Rao, and his date is fixed in Samvat 919 or A. D. 862, if the era of Vikramâditya is meant. But it is more likely that the local Samvat of Chedi is intended, which would fix the date in A. D. 1168. It is, therefore, not at all impossible that Govinda Chandra of Kanauj is the king alluded to. We know, however, that the country to the north of Bilhari was still in the possession of the Chedi kings in A. D. 1158, when the Bharhut inscription was engraved on the rock of Lâl Pahâr; although it is certain that their power was already on the wane. But as Govinda Chandra was still reigning up to A.D. 1168, it is quite possible that he may have conquered the northern districts of Chedi about A. D. 1160.

11.—RÛPNÂTH.

Rûpnâth is the name of a famous *lingam* of Ṣiva, which is placed in a cleft of the rock, where the *Bandar Chúa* nala pours over the face of the Kaimur range of hills. The descent is made in three falls, each of which has a famous pool, which is also an object of worship. The uppermost is named *Râm-kûnd*, the middle one *Lakshman-kûnd*, and the lower one *Sitá-kûnd*. An annual *mêla*, or fair, was formerly held here on the *Siv-rátri*; but this has been discontinued since the time of the mutiny. The holy pools, however, are still visited by occasional pilgrims as one of the scenes of the famous wanderings of Râma during his twelve years' exile from Ajudhya.

But the site of Rûpnâth, and its holy pools, is more interesting to Europeans, from the presence of one of the rock-inscriptions of Asoka. A facsimile of this edict, with a translation by Dr. G. Bühler, has already been published by me with some remarks on the date of 256, which occurs near the end of the inscription.[2] Some exception has been taken to the attribution of this record to Asoka by Mr. Rhys Davids. But as the critic has accepted the reading of the number of upwards of thirty-two years of the king's reign, his objections may be safely set aside, as Asoka was the *only* one of all the Maurya kings whose reign extended over thirty years.

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[1] Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. II, p. 137.

[2] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, containing the inscriptions of Asoka, pp. 95—131.—Indian Antiquary 1877—p. 156.

12.—AMODA.

The village of *Amoda* is situated on the crest of the Kaimur range, seven miles to the south-west of Bahuriband, and about 20 miles nearly due west from Sleemanabad. Amongst the Sati monuments in the neighbourhood, there is one with an inscription dated in Samvat 1651, or A. D. 1594, during the reign of the Gond Rájá, Prem Nârâyan. In this inscription he is called Prem Sâhi. It consists of seven lines of Hindi, as follows:—

> Sri Ganeṣa. Sri Man Mahârâjádhirâjá, Prema,
> Sâhi ko sâko bhayo Gadha-desa Amodâ sthâ,
> ne, Krishna Râya râjya karoti, Samvat 1651,
> Samaya Kârttik badi 2 raviwâsare Basant Raya, Dor,
> da Siyâle Kshipalithani ke, Thâkur vâko betâ,
> Siromani Râüt tâko ṣati bhai Rachit Supangha,
> ra Ganeṣam.

"Sri Ganes. During the sovereignty of the fortunate king of kings, Sri *Prem Sâhi*, and under the rule of Krishna Ray of Amodâ, in the country of *Garha* in the year 1651, on Sunday, the 2nd of the waning moon of Kârtik, the wife of Siromani Râüt, son of Basant Ray, Dor Siyâla, Thakur of Kshipalithani, became a Sati. Written by Ganes of Supnaghar."

The village of great Suma, three miles to the south-east, probably represents Supnaghar. The date is clearly Samvat 1651, or A. D. 1594, which, according to the Gond chronicles, was the second year of his reign. My calculation of the week day makes the 2nd of Kârtik badi a Saturday, instead of a Sunday.

13.—BAHURIBAND.

The small town of Bahuriband is situated near the edge of the tableland of the Kaimur range of hills, 32 miles to the north of Jabâlpur. The name seems to have been derived from the great number of embanked sheets of water which surround it on all sides, as Bahuriband means simply "many dams." On the accompanying map I have marked by consecutive numbers the positions of forty-five of these dams,[1] without which the whole of the rainfall on this plateau would run off in a few hours, and leave the land utterly dry and barren. In this part the Kaimur range is

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[1] See Plate VIII. According to the Kânungo of Bahuriband, the actual number of *jhils* is only *thirty-nine*, as those to the west of the *Chausa* nala are not reckoned as belonging to Bahuriband.

not more than 120 feet in height above the plains on the East, but it rises again in a few places before it sinks into the great rent cut by the Sonâr river. The tableland of Bahuriband is intersected by numerous low broad belts of rock which are generally parallel to the outer edge. The people have taken advantage of these broad ridges to form tanks by connecting them together by artificial embankments. Most of the *jhils* have no other name than that of the hamlet to which they belong; but one of them called *Jamunia Tál* is said to have been made by *Jamuna Sinh*, the brother of Lakshman Sinh Parihâr.

According to the traditions of the people, there was once a large city on the site of Bahuriband. This belief is amply confirmed by the quantities of broken bricks and pottery which still cover all the high ground. It was not a walled town, and no names of gates have been preserved. I think it not improbable that Bahuriband may be the Tholabana of Ptolemy, as the Greek *th* might easily be substituted for an *o*. The name might, therefore, have been *Volabana*, which is a very close rendering of Bahulaband. As Ptolemy's Tholabana was one of the towns of the *Poruari* or Parihârs, this conjectural identification seems not impossible.

The only piece of antiquity of any interest is a naked colossal Jain figure, 12 feet 2 inches high and 3 feet 10 inches broad, which is standing under a pipal tree near the town. It is a stiff, clumsy figure. On the pedestal there is an inscription of seven lines, opening with the date. This is unfortunately injured in the third and fourth figures, but the century is certain. I read the beginning of the record as follows:—

Line 1.—Samvat 10 ** Phâlgun badi 9 Some, Sri mad GAYA-KARNA DEVA vijaya râ,

Line 2.—jye Râstrakuṭa Kuloṭbhava Mahâsamantâdhipati Sri mad *Golhana Devasya* pravarddhamânasya,

Line 3.—Sri mad Golla Prithi* maya.

"In the Samvat 10 * *, on Monday, the 9th of the waning moon of Phâlgun, during the victorious reign of the fortunate GAYA KARNA DEVA, and the commander-in-chiefship of the prosperous Golhana Deva, of the exalted race of Râshtrakuṭa, the fortunate Golla Prithi, &c."

The remaining lines are so imperfect, that I am unable to decipher any continuous portion of them. But the main

fact of the inscription was doubtless to record the erection of the statue. At the same time, we learn that the country belonged to the Râshtrakuṭa chief Golhana Deva as a tributary under the great Kulachuri king Gaya Karna Deva as suzerain. The inscription is valuable on another account, as proving that the Samvat used in other Kulachuri inscriptions must be dated from a much later period than the initial-point of the Vikramâditya era. The date in the present inscription of Gaya Karna Deva is clearly one thousand odd, while the Bhera Ghât inscription of his son Nara Sinha Deva is dated in 907, and the Bharhut inscription of the same king in 909, his own inscription from Tewar being dated in Samvat 902.

We know also that Gaya Karna's father, Yasa Karna, must have been living within 30 years of A. D. 1120; so that Gaya Karna hinself was no doubt reigning in that year. According to my reckoning of the genealogy of the Kulachuri dynasty, the reign of Gaya Karna must have extended from about A. D. 1100 to 1125. The date in this Bahuriband inscription must, therefore, be in the Saka era, which would range from 1022 to 1047.

14.—TIGOWA.

At the small village of Tigowa, two miles to the north of Bahuriband, there is a low rectangular mound, about 250 feet long by 120 feet broad, which is entirely covered with large blocks of cut-stone, the ruins of many temples. Only one temple is now standing. Originally it was a small single room, with an open portico in front, supported on four pillars, of the same type as those of the Gupta temples at Udayagiri and Eran.

About 60 feet to the north-east there is part of an entrance door of a second Gupta temple of a much larger size. But, besides these two Gupta shrines, I traced the foundations of no less than thirty-six other temples, the largest of which was only 15 feet, while many of the smaller ones were but 6, and even 4 feet square.[1] The whole of these had been uttterly destroyed by a railway contractor, who collected all the squared stones in a heap together, ready to be carted off to the neighbouring railway. Two hundred carts

[1] See the map of Tigowa in Plate IX.

are said to have been brought to the foot of the hill by this rapacious spoiler, when the removal of the stones was peremptorily stopped by an order from the Deputy Commissioner of Jabalpur, to whom the people had sent a petition. His name, which is still well remembered, was Walker. Wherever I go, I hear of the sordid rapacity of some of these railway contractors. By one of them, named Pratt, the great temple at Bilhari is said to have been despoiled; and by another a fine temple at Tewar was completely removed. To the railway contractor the finest temple is only a heap of ready squared stones; and

> The temple of Jerusalem,
> A ready quarry is to him;
> And it is nothing more.

Tigowa is only a small village; but, according to tradition, it was once a large town, with a fort named Jhanjhangarh. The village itself stands on a rocky eminence, and the fields around are strewn with broken bricks. The name means simply the "three villages," the other two being the neighbouring hamlets of Amgowa and Deori. Originally they are said to have formed a suburb of Bahuriband.

All the smaller temples of 4 to 6 feet would appear to have been built with three sides only, the fourth being open to the east. Those of the next size, 7 to 10 feet, had doorways with two pilasters, while those of the largest size, 12 to 15 feet, had porticoes supported on four pillars. The whole of these temples had spire roofs, covered with the usual pinnacle of the *amalaka* fruit. They were all Brahmanical; not a single fragment of Buddhist or Jain sculpture having been found amongst the ruins.

The oldest temple at Tigowa is a small stone building, 12 feet 9 inches square, covered with a flat roof. In front there is a portico, supported on four pillars. The style is similar to that of the cave temples of Udayagiri, and of the structural temples at Eran, which, from their inscriptions, we know to belong to the Gupta period. I have therefore ventured to give the name of the "*Gupta style*" to all the temples of this class; although it is probable that the earliest specimen of this kind of temple belongs to a period shortly preceding the Gupta rule. The chief characteristic features of Gupta temples are:—

(1). Flat roofs, without spires of any kind, as in the cave temples.

(2). Prolongation of the head of the doorway beyond the jambs, as in Egyptian temples.
(3). Statues of the rivers Ganges and Jumna guarding the entrance door.
(4). Pillars, with massive square capitals, ornamented with two lions back to back, with a tree between them.
(5). Bosses on the capitals and friezes of a very peculiar form like Buddhist stûpas, or beehives, with projecting horns.
(6). Continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding all round the building.
(7). Deviation in plan from the cardinal points.

The use of flat roofs would seem to show that these buildings must belong to the very earliest period of structural architecture. When the architect, whose work had hitherto been confined to the erection of porticoes in front of caves, was first called upon to build the temple itself as well as the portico, he naturally copied this only prototype, and thus reproduced in a structural form the exact facsimile of a rock-hewn cave. The roof is not a mere interior ceiling, but is finished on the top, with channels and spouts for the discharge of rain water; and where more than one slab is used to form the roof, the two adjoining edges are raised and covered by a long stone, which is grooved to fit exactly over the joint.

The prolongation of the lintel of the entrance door far beyond the jambs on each side is common to all the temples of this class down to the latest period. It is seen also in all the entrances to the caves of Udayagiri, and in the still earlier examples of the Nâsik caves. This peculiarity was no doubt derived from the original door-frame of wood, in which the prolongation of the lintel is a matter of necessity; and the fact of its being a copy serves to show that, in India as elsewhere, the costly stone architecture was preceded by a more primitive construction of wood.

Intimately connected with this curious peculiarity of construction are the two figures of the rivers Ganges and Jumna, which are invariably placed in the outer angles of the lintel and jambs. The figure of the Ganges is known by her attendant crocodile on which she stands; and that of the Jumna by her attendant tortoise, on which she also stands. Each goddess carries a water vessel.

The square capitals of the pillars are remarkable for their massiveness, the side of the capital being just double that of the shaft. The couchant lions, with the tree between them, are the direct descendants of the couchant animals on the capitals of the Asoka architecture, as seen in the sculptures of Bodh Gaya and Bharhut. And these, again, were the offspring of the Achæmenian capitals of Persepolis and Susa. In these earlier examples, however, the couchant animals cross each other, and the floral symbol between them takes a conventional form. But the greater breadth of the Gupta capitals necessitated the separation of the two animals, while the floral symbol became the representative of a real tree.

The stûpa-shaped bosses on the capitals of the pillars, on the entablature of the main building, and over the doorway, are very striking features from the boldness of their projection; and still more so from their being the only ornament used on the architraves of all the earlier examples. Similar projecting bosses are found in most Hindu temples down to a comparatively later date; but they are much more elaborate in their form, and are always accompanied with other ornaments. The bosses over the doors and on the entablatures are usually placed on square projecting blocks, which seem to me to represent the ends of the beams of the original wooden prototype. They, therefore, correspond exactly with the triglyphs of Greek architecture.

The continuation of the architrave of the portico pillars all round the building, as a lower cornice or moulding, is found in all the examples of the Gupta style, from the earliest specimen at Sânchi to the latest yet discovered at Tigowa and Pithaora.

The last marked peculiarity of the Gupta temples is the frequent deviation in plan from the cardinal points. Out of eight examples, I find that five have an average deviation of 13° from the true meridian. As the amount of variation, according to my notes, is limited to 5° in the two extreme cases, I think it *possible* that it may have been an intentional deviation of one *nakshatra*, or lunar mansion amounting to 13° 20′. But this is a mere guess; and the near agreement in the amount may be due simply to the small number of examples which have yet been found.

As the temple at Tigowa possesses every one of the peculiarities just described, it may be taken as a very fine

example of the Gupta style of architecture. It is true there is no inscription to vouch for this assignment; but as the cave temples at Udayagiri, and the structural temples at Eran and Bilsar, all of which are of the same style, possess several inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty, I do not hesitate for a moment in ascribing the Tigowa example to the same period.

Inside, the Tigowa temple consists of a single room 8 feet by 7½, in which is enshrined a statue of the Narsinh avatâr of Vishnu. Outside, the body of the temple is 12 feet square, with a portico in front of the entrance, supported on four pillars. The middle intercolumniation is 2 feet 9 inches, but the two side ones are only 2 feet 6 inches. As this difference is also found in other Gupta temples at Sânchi, Udayagiri, and Eran, it may be looked upon as one of the minor marks of the Gupta style.[1]

The four pillars are exactly alike, with the single exception of the tree, which is placed between the lions on the upper part of the capital. This varies on the different faces of the capitals; being on one face a mango tree, on another a palm tree, and on the others some conventional or unrecognized tree. The lions' heads at the corners do duty for two bodies on two adjacent faces, as in most of the Assyrian sculptures. On each face of the lower part of the capital there are two of the peculiar bosses or stûpa-shaped ornaments, which I have already described as forming one of the peculiar marks of the Gupta architecture. Each boss has a curved projecting horn on each side, and a circular panel in the middle, filled with a head, either of a man or of a lion.

The lower part, for about three-eights of its height, is square and quite plain; then comes a highly ornamented octagonal portion, followed by another of sixteen sides, above which it becomes circular. This portion of the shaft appears to me to form one of the most characteristic features of the Gupta pillars. In the oldest example at Sânchi we see the simple reeded-bell capital of the Asoka pillars. But in all the later specimens at Udayagiri, Eran and Tigowa the bell has become fluted, and its lower part, or mouth, has been quite separated from the upper swell by a different style of ornamentation. From each corner, also, of the square portion of the upper shaft, a small foliated turn-over hangs

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[1] See plates X and XI, for a plan and view of this temple.

gracefully down. In this arrangement I see the original of the famous *kumbha*, or water-vessel, which forms the principal features of all Hindu pillars down to the present day. In a single example in one of the Udayagiri caves a rampant animal takes the place of the turn-over. The effect is not unpleasing; although the upward spring of the animal is in direct opposition to the downward trail of the drooping turnover.

The entrance door is the only part of the body of the building which is ornamented. Immediately over the lower door-frame there is a line of 7 square bosses, which represent the ends of the beams of an original wooden portico. On each side of the door there is a pilaster of the same form as the pillars of the portico. These pilasters rise to only two-thirds of the height of the doorway, and form supports for the two figures of the Ganges and Jumna. The Ganges is represented standing on a crocodile and plucking a fruit from a custard-apple tree; while the Jumna is standing on a tortoise and plucking a fruit from a mango tree, Above these figures is the main architrave of the doorway, over which there is a line of thirteen square bosses, immediately over which rest the great roofing slates. There can be no doubt, therefore, that these square projecting bosses represent the ends of the beams of the original wooden prototype. In this particular temple these bosses are quite plain; but I believe that they are only unfinished, as in a second and larger example of Gupta doorway at Tigowa all the square bosses are ornamented with the stûpa-like ornament which has already been described.

On one of the pillars of the portico there is a short inscription of three lines, in characters which, in my opinion, are not later than the 7th or 8th century. I read them as follows:—

Ṣitabhadra sthâna Sâmâ-
nya Bhaṭṭarputtra Uma Devaḥ
Kaṇṇakubja Sanîpaḥ.

These appear to me to record the simple fact that "Sâmânya Bhaṭṭa's son, Uma Deva of Kanyakubja, paid his devotions [*sani*] at the temple of Sitabhadra." This inscription is only a pilgrim's record of his visit at some date subsequent to the building of the temple; but there is nothing to show how much later it may be. I would refer the inscription to the 8th century, about which time the portico of the temple

was turned into a *mandapa*, or hall, by closing the side openings with sculptured slabs; while another portico of quite a different style was added to the front. These additions are shown in the plan without any shading.[1] None of the later pillars are forthcoming; but the great difference of style between the original temple and the new portico may be seen in their respective basements, which have nothing in common. The sculptures of the late addition are about half Ṣaiva and half Vaishnava. On the upper panel of a slab on the left there is the skeleton goddess, attended by skeleton figures; and in the lower compartment there is Vishnu Nârâyana reposing on the serpent Ananta. On the opposite slab to the right there is another figure of Kâli, with the Varâha avatâr of Vishnu below. Portions of the old pilasters and pillars have been cut away to receive these slabs. The original temple undoubtedly belongs to the Gupta period, and cannot, therefore, be later than the fifth century A. D.; but it is more probably as old as the third century.

At a short distance to the north of this old temple there stands an ornamented stone doorway, which is the only portion now remaining of a still larger temple of the Gupta period. The breadth of the doorway of the existing temple is 2 feet 6 inches, while that of this solitary ruin is 3 feet 10 inches. If these proportions were observed in the other parts of the building, the body of this ruined temple would have been not less than 19½ feet square, which is rather more than that of the magnificent temple at Deogarh. The latter, however, has a spired roof; but the Narsinh temple at Eran, which is 16 feet square, had a flat roof; and there would be no difficulty in a sandstone country in procuring thick roofing slabs of even greater length than 20 feet. The style of ornamentation of this doorway was the same as that of the doorway of the standing temple. There were the same seven square bosses immediately over the door; and above them a second row, which would have supported the large roofing slabs. The lower bosses are ornamented with men's and lions' heads alternately; but the upper ones are all blank. My search for other portions of this temple was fruitless. It was no doubt ruined long ago, as its doorway now forms an entrance to the court-yard of a shapeless modern temple.

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[1] See Plate X.

15.—MAJHOLI.

The village of Majholi lies on the old road leading from Tewar (Tripura), the old capital of Chedi, to Bilhari, being 22 miles to the north of the former, and 30 miles to the south-west of the latter. It once possessed a famous temple of Vishnu, of which nothing now remains but a large statue of the *Varáha* or boar incarnation of Vishnu. The statue is almost hidden in the deep darkness of a modern temple, which has been built out of the ruins of the old fane, with numerous pieces of sculpture inserted in the wall. Close by I found one of the ceiling slabs of the old temple, with its deeply cut squares and circles of ornamental moulding. This has been turned into a *chakki*, or mill-stone, for grinding lime. Nothing is known about the history of the temple—not even its name. Amongst the broken sculptures in the neighbourhood I found a Hara-Gauri, or Ṣiva and his wife, seated, with a standing figure of Ṣiva and a squatted Jain statue, naked as usual. These last figures show that Majholi must also have possessed a shrine of Ṣiva and a Jain temple, as well as a shrine of Vishnu as the Varáha avatâr.

16.—SINGORGARH.

The great ruined fortress of Singorgarh commands the Jabera pass leading through the hills between Jabalpur and Damoh and Saugor. It is 35 miles to the north-west of Jabalpur, and 32 miles to the south-east of Damoh. The road enters the hills at Katangi, and proceeds north for 9 miles to the *Kair* river near Sangrâmpur, from whence it turns to the west for 9 miles to Jabera, passing immediately under the hill of Singorgarh. The Kair river breaks through the Kaimur range to the eastward of Sangrâmpur by a deep rent which it has cut for itself, and which is commonly known by the name of *kattao*, or "the cut." To the west of Singorgarh there was formerly a great lake, which extended as far as Bansipur, a distance of 7 miles, with a width of more than 5 miles from north to south, from Bai-Sâgar to Karanpur. Both the fort and the lake are attributed to Rájá Ben Basar. The embankment was judiciously thrown across a very narrow gorge, just below the village of Bansipur, which is said to have received its name from the Rájá's fishing rod [*bánsi*], as he was fond of fishing in the deep water under the embankment. No less than

twenty-eight villages were included within the limits of the lake.

The name of Rájá Ben is as widely known in Northern India as that of Râmâ or Vikramâditya. But he is always called Rájá Ben Chakravartti; whereas at Jabera he is only known as Rájá Ben Basor. The title of Basor, or Bansor, is a well-known contraction of bânsphor, or bamboo-splitter, which is the name given to all basket-makers. But the people of Singorgarh are not contented with such a lowly origin for the maker of their great fort and lake. They have invented a curious story to account for the name of Basor. According to the legend, the Rájá every year used to make a fan of bamboo, which possessed such miraculous powers that, whenever he cut a piece of it, a portion of his enemy's army was at once cut to pieces; or, as one of my informants explained, the army fell to pieces and dispersed.

I look upon this legend as only an idle attempt to account for the name of Basor. The embankment is not so large that it could not have been made by a wealthy dealer in bamboos; and to him I would attribute the construction of the lake. But the fort is not likely to have been built by any private person. It is true that the *old fort* is not of great size; but its name would appear to have been derived from a certain Gaj Singh Pratihâr, according to an inscription of 8 lines which is recorded on a square stone pillar, 10½ feet high, which still stands on the top of the hill to the south-east of the fort. In this inscription the hill is called *Gaja-Singhadurggye*; from which it seems probable that the fort must have been called *Gaja-Singha durga garh*, or the "hill-fortress of Gaj Singh." By dropping the first syllable, and eliding the *d* of *durg*, the name would have become simply *Singorgarh*, as it is written at present. The monolith is called *kirtti-stambha*, or the "pillar of fame." It was set up in the Samvat year 1364, or A. D. 1307, on the *vijaya daṣame*, that is, on the tenth day, or *daṣahra*, of the great festival, when Râma overthrew Râwan. As the lake was called Vijaya-Sâgar, or Bijay-Sâgar, I think it probable that it was so named on the same occasion of the *vijaya daṣame*. The village of Bai-Sâgar, on the northern bank of the lake, seems to preserve the name of the Bijay-Sâgar in a curtailed form.

About half a mile beyond this pillar there is a second monolith, 13 feet high, with a short inscription of two lines,

apparently without date. This monolith is also called a *kirtti-stambha*, or pillar of fame. I read it as follows:—

Nikumbha Rárálu Suta Ratanasya Sri
Mela sáhitasya Kirtti Stambho yasmasi (?) *66.*

As Nikumbha was the name of Râwan's brother, it is possible that this pillar represents the site of the fort of Râwan, (generally known as Lanka, or Ceylon), while the other pillar would represent the position of Râma's army.

According to Sir William Sleeman, the fort of Singorgarh was built by Rájá Belo, one of the Chandel Rájás of Mahoba.[1] But none of my informants had ever heard of Rájá Belo Chandel; and I have very grave doubts as to the Chandel rule having ever extended so far to the south. The whole of this part of the country would appear to have belonged to the Parihârs or Pratihârs as we find was actually the case in A. D. 1307, when these monoliths were erected. But the Pratihârs were tributary to the great Kulachuri Rájás of Chedi, whose rule certainly extended as far northward as Bharhut and Kalanjar. The latter place was recovered by the Chandels in the 11th century; but the Kulachuris still held the country about Bharhut in the 12th century. At the close of the 15th century the districts to the north of the Narbada had fallen into the hands of Sangrâm Sâh, the Gond Rájá of Gaṛha Mandala. His son Dalpat Sâh, about A. D. 1540, removed the seat of government from Gaṛha to Singorgarh, which he enlarged and strengthened. In 1545 he married the beautiful Chandel princess Durgâvati; and in 1549 he died, leaving an infant son, Bir Nârâyan, under the regency of his widowed queen. For fourteen years she governed the country with singular skill and prudence, when the report of her accumulated wealth excited the cupidity of Âsaf Khân, the Muhammadan governor of Kaṛâ. Having obtained the consent of Akbar, this rapacious chief started on his unhallowed expedition, without even the shadow of a pretext. But the country was said to be rich, and it was presumably defenceless, as its ruler was a woman. There would consequently be much plunder, but little risk. The account of this unprovoked attack may best be left to the pens of the Muhammadan historians.

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VI, 627.

According to the Tarikh-i-Alfi, the invasion took place in the year 968 A. H., or A. D. 1560,[1] when—

"Khwâja Abdul Majîd, who had received the title of Âsaf Khan, was appointed Governor of Karâ, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of Garha, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hind since the rise of the faith of Islâm. At this time it was governed by a woman called Ráni, and all the dogs of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. Âsaf Khan had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the Râni, he levied an army to conquer the country. The Ráni came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horses. The armies met, and both did their best. An arrow struck the Ráni, who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her elephant-driver, and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. Âsaf Khan gained the victory, and stopped his advance at the *tâluk* of Chauragarh, where the treasures of the ruler of Garha were kept. The son of the Ráni shut himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder in jewels, gold, silver, and other things were taken, that it was impossible to compute the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, Âsaf Khân sent fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself."

The author of the Tabakât-i-Akbari places the invasion in A. H. 971 or A. D. 1563, a date which is confirmed by the Akbarnâma, and which also agrees exactly with the genealogies of the Gond Rájás.[2]

"The country of Garha-Katanga was near to Âsaf Khân, and he formed the design of subduing it. The chief place of that country is Chauragarh. It is an extensive country containing seventy thousands (haftâd hazâr) flourishing villages. Its ruler was at that time a woman named Durgâvati, who was very beautiful. When Âsaf Khân heard the condition of this country, he thought the conquest of it would be an easy matter, so he marched against it with fifty thousand horse and foot. The Râni collected all her forces, and prepared to oppose the invader with 700 elephants, 20,000 horsemen, and infantry innumerable. A battle followed, in which both sides fought obstinately, but by the will of fate the Ráni was struck by an arrow, and fearing lest she should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, she made her elephant-driver kill her with a dagger. After the victory, Âsaf Khân marched against Chaurâgarh. The son of the Râni, who was in the fort, came forth to meet him; but he was killed, and the fort was captured, and all its treasures fell into the hands of the conquerors. Âsaf Khân,

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[1] Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, V, 169, by Professor Dowson.
[2] Ibid, vol. V, pp. 288-89.

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after he had achieved this victory and acquired so much treasure, returned, greatly elated, to Kaṛâ, and took possession of his government."

The account of Ferishta is much the same; but he adds some particulars regarding the plunder which are omitted by the other authorities:—[1]

"When Âsaf Khân was raised to the rank of a noble of five thousand horse, and procured the government of Kaṛâ Mânikpur, he obtained permission of the king to subdue a country called Gaṛhâ, at that time governed by a Râni (a Hindu queen), whose name was Durgâvati, as celebrated for her beauty as for her good sense. Âsaf Khân Hirvi heard of the riches of this country, and visited it with constant depredations, till at length he marched with a force of between five and six thousand cavalry and infantry to Gaṛhâ. The queen opposed him with an army of fifteen hundred elephants and eight thousand horse and foot. Under these circumstances, a sanguinary battle took place, in which the queen, who was on an elephant, having received an arrow in her eye, was unable to give orders; but apprehending the disgrace of being taken prisoner, she snatched a dagger out of the girdle of the elephant-driver and stabbed herself. Her country fell into the hands of Âsaf Khân Hirvi. Âsaf Khân next proceeded to Chauragarh, and took it by storm; and the son of the Râni or queen, who was but an infant, was trodden to death in the confusion. Independently of the jewels, the images of gold and silver and other valuables, no fewer than a hundred jars of gold coins of the reign of Alâ-ud-dîn Khilji also fell into the hands of the conqueror. Of all this booty, Âsaf Khân presented to the king only a small part; and of a thousand elephants which he took, he sent only three hundred indifferent animals to the king, and none of the jewels."

The scene of the battle between the rapacious Muhammadan soldier and the heroic Hindu queen is still pointed out by the people in the wide open plain about Sangrâmpur, four miles to the east of Singorgarh. But, according to tradition, it was not there that Durgâvati was wounded; but in a second fight, which took place while retreating towards Gaṛhâ. The details of this invasion, which have been so fondly preserved by the people, have been collected by Sir William Sleeman, whose account I will quote:—[2]

"Âsaf Khân, the imperial viceroy at Kaṛâ Mânikpur on the Ganges, invited by the prospect of appropriating so fine a country and so much wealth as she was reputed to possess, invaded her dominions in the year 1564, at the head of six thousand cavalry and twelve thousand well disciplined infantry, with a train of artillery.

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[1] Briggs' Ferishta, II, p. 217.
[2] Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society, VI, 628, pp. 630.

"He was met by the queen regent, at the head of her troops, near the fort of Singorgarh; and an action took place, in which she was defeated. Unwilling to stand a siege, she retired after the action upon Gaṛhâ; and finding herself closely pressed by the enemy, she continued her retreat among the hills towards Mandala, and took a very favourable position in a narrow defile, about 12 miles east of Gaṛhâ. Âsaf's artillery could not keep pace with him in the pursuit, and on attempting the pass without it, he was repulsed with great loss. The attack was renewed the next day, when the artillery had come up. The queen advanced herself on an elephant to the entrance of the pass, and was bravely supported by her troops in her attempt to defend it; but the enemy had brought up his artillery, which, opening upon her followers in the narrow defile, made great havoc among them, and compelled them to give way. She received a wound from an arrow in the eye' and her only son, then about eighteen years of age, was severely wounded and taken to the rear. Durgâvati, in attempting to wrench the arrow from her eye, broke it, and left the barb in the wound; but notwithstanding the agony she suffered, she still refused to retire; knowing that all her hopes rested on her being able to keep her position in the defile till her troops could recover from the shock of the first discharges of artillery, and the supposed death of the young prince; for by one of those extraordinary coincidences of circumstances, which are by the vulgar taken for miracles, the river in the rear of her position, which had during the night been nearly dry, began to rise the moment the action commenced, and, when she received her wound, was reported unfordable. She saw that her troops had no alternative but to force back the enemy through the pass, or perish, since it would be almost impossible for any of them to escape over this mountain torrent, under the mouths of their cannon; and consequently, that her plan of retreat upon Mandala was entirely frustrated by this unhappy accident of the unseasonable rise of the river.

"Her elephant driver repeatedly urged her in vain to allow him to attempt the ford. 'No,' replied the queen; 'I will either die here, or force the enemy back.' At this moment she received an arrow in the neck; and seeing her troops give way, and the enemy closing around, she snatched a dagger from the driver and plunged it in her own bosom.

"She was interred at the place where she fell; and on her tomb to this day the passing stranger thinks it necessary to place, as a votive offering, one of the fairest he can find of those beautiful specimens of white crystal, in which the hills in this quarter abound. Two rocks lie by her side, which are supposed by the people to be her drums, converted into stone; and strange stories are told of their being still occasionally heard to sound in the stillness of the night by the people of the nearest villages. Manifest signs of the carnage of that day are exhibited in the rude tombs, which cover all the ground from that of the queen all the way back to the bed of the river, whose unseasonable rise prevented her retreat upon the garrison of Mandala.

"Her son had been taken off the field, and was, unperceived by the enemy, conveyed back to the palace at Chauragarh, to which Âsaf returned immediately after his victory, and laid siege. The young prince was killed in the siege; and the women set fire to the place, under

the apprehension of suffering dishonour if they fell alive into the hands of the enemy. Two females are said to have escaped—the sister of the queen, and a young princess who had been betrothed to the young prince Bir Nârâyan; and these two are said to have been sent to the Emperor Akbar."

To Durgâvati is attributed the construction of the *Râni Tâl*, one mile to the east of Gaṛhâ, and of the second Râni Tâl at the foot of the Kaimur range of hills, where the Kair river breaks through the rocks, 5 miles to the east of Sangrâmpur.

It is said that Durgâvati, on her retreat from Gaṛhâ, threw the *pâras*, or philosopher's stone, into the Râni Tâl; where it is still supposed to be. A characteristic story is told of this queen, whose memory is so affectionately cherished by the people, that everything relating to her is devoutly believed. The story runs that the King of Delhi, when passing by Singorgarh, saw a lamp burning on the top of the fort. He asked whose palace it was; and on being told that it was the palace of a Râni, he sent her a golden "cotton gin" [*charkha*], as an appropriate present. In return, Durgâvati sent him a *pinjan*, or "cotton bow," for cleaning or teasing cotton wool. This well-deserved retort so enraged the king, that he marched at once with his whole army to fight the queen.

17.—TEWAR OR TRIPURA.

Tewar or *Tripura* was the capital of the *Kulachuri* Rájás of Chedi. In the Haima Koṣa, Tripura is also called *Chedi-nagari*.[1] Amongst the Brahmans, it is famous as the site of the defeat of the demon Tripura by Ṣiva.[2] There can be no doubt, therefore, that the place is of great antiquity; although it is probable that it was not the most ancient capital of the celebrated Chedi-des. At a very early period, the whole of the country lying along the upper course of the Narbada would appear to have been occupied by the *Haihaya* branch of the Yâdavas. In the Mahâbhârata several different persons are mentioned as kings of Chedi; but as nothing is said about their relationship, they most probably belonged

[1] Professor Hall: Journal of the American Oriental Society, VI, p. 520.
[2] Inscription from Kurugode, translated by Colebrooke; Essays, II, 240: "I prostrate myself before Sambhu whose unquenchable blaze consumed the magnificent Tripura."

to different divisions of the country. It would seem, therefore, that, some time before the composition of the Mahâbhârata, the land of Chedi had already been divided into two or more independent States, of which one belonged to Rájá Sisupâla, whose capital is not mentioned; and another to the father of Chitrangadâ, whose capital was Manipura. The capital of Chedi, in the time of Rájá Vasu, is said to have been situated on the Suktimati river, which, according to the Purânas, has its rise in the Riksha range of hills, along with the Tons and the Narbada. In later times we know that there were two great Haihaya States in Central India, *viz.*, the kingdom of Mahâ Kosala, with Manipur for its capital, and the kingdom of Chedi proper, with Tripura for its capital. But as the Haihayas of Kosala date their inscriptions in the Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat by name, we have an additional proof that their country was once included within the limits of the ancient Chedi. I incline, therefore, to look upon Manipur (to the north of Ratanpur) as the original capital of Chedi-des; and to identify the *Suktimati* river with the *Sakri*, which rises in the hills of the Kâwarda State to the west of Lâphâ.

The derivation of the name of *Chedi* is uncertain; but, according to one of my informants, the country was originally called *Chitrángadi-desa*, after *Chitrángadá*, the daughter of the Rajá of Manipur. In process of time this long name was gradually shortened to *Changedi-desa* and Chedi-desa.[1] In all the inscriptions hitherto found the name is simply *Chedi*; but I think it highly probable that the old form of the name may be preserved in the *Sageda metropolis* of Ptolemy, and in the *Chi-ke-da* of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen-Thsang. The learned translator of the pilgrim's travels transcribes the Chinese syllables as *Tchi-ki-to*, and reads them doubtfully as *Tchikdha*.[2] On referring to the original Chinese characters, I find that the value of the middle syllable may be either *ki* or *ke*, as it is used by the pilgrim in the words *kokila*, *avalokiteswara*, *keyura*, and *harikesara*.[3] I find also that the third syllable has the power of *da* in *dakshina*. The whole name may, therefore, be transcribed as *Chi-ke-da*; and in this form it offers such a remarkable similarity to the

[1] So also by dropping *r* and *t*, *Mrittikâvati* became *Makauti*.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, III, p. 168 and p. 531, Index.
[3] Julien's "Methode pour déchiffrer et transcrire les noms Sanscrits qui se rencontrent dans les livres Chinois, p. 214.

Sageda of Ptolemy, as to suggest their absolute identity. Both places were situated in Central India, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Narbada river.

Professor Hall was the first to suggest the possible identity of *Chikito* and *Chedi*.[1] There are no doubt several difficulties in the way; but some of them are certainly due to Hwen-Thsang's text. The first is the bearing and distance from Ujain, which he makes north-east 1,000 *li*, or 167 miles. Now, this direction must be wrong, if *Chikito* was in Southern India, as a north-east bearing would place it in the neighbourhood of Kulhâras, just 90 miles to the south of Gwalior, which cannot possibly be reckoned as belonging to South India. By making the bearing east, instead of north-east, the position of Chikito would accord fairly enough with that of Chetiya, or Sânchi, near the great old city of Besnagar, which I found to be just 142 miles from Ujain, measured by perambulator. But the subsequent bearing and distance of 150 miles north to Maheswarapura would land us in the neighbourhood of Narwar; with which it seems impossible to identify it. Another difficulty is, that in the life of Hwen-Thsang, when there is no mention of Chikito, Maheswarapura is said to be 900 *li*, or 150 miles, to the north-east of Ujain; and as it is stated to be in Central India, the northerly bearing is indispensable. Seronj, to the north-east of Bhilsa, would suit these conditions almost exactly. And from thence to Chedi the distance corresponds very well with 1,000 *li*, or 167 miles; but the bearing is south-east. A southerly direction, however, is absolutely required, as *Chikito* is said to be in Southern India. This identification seems to me to be the most probable under all the conditions.

The other identification, however, which I have proposed of Ptolemy's *Sageda metropolis* with *Chedi*, appears to me to be almost certain. In the first place, Sageda is the capital of the *Adisathri*, which I take to be a Greek rendering of *Haya-kshetra*, or the country of the *Hayas* or *Haihayas*. It adjoins the country of the *Bettigi*, whom I would identify with the people of *Vákâtaka*, whose capital was Bhândak. One of the towns in their country, situated near the upper course of the Sôn, is named *Balantipurgon* or *Balampurgon*. This I take to be the famous fort of *Bândogarh*, which we know formed part of the Chedi dominions. To the north-east

[1] Journal of American Oriental Society, VI, p. 521.

was *Panassa*, which most probably preserves the name of some town on the Parnâsa or Banâs river—a tributary which joins the Sôn to the north-east of Bândogarh. To the north of the Adisathri, Ptolemy places the Poruari, or Parihârs, in their towns named Tholobana, Bridâma, and Malaita. The first I would identify with Boriban (Bahuriband), by reading Oölobana or Volobana. The second must be *Bilhari*; and the last may be *Lameta*, which gives its name to the ghât on the Narbada opposite Tewar, and may thus stand for Tripura itself. All these identifications hold so well together, and mutually support each other, that I have little doubt of their correctness.

Of the tribal name of Kulachuri, or Kalachuri as it is also written, I am not able to offer any satisfactory derivation. Tod quotes the name of Kalcharak, or Kurchara, as that of one of the 36 royal races mentioned by the bard Chand. Kalcharak was also the form of the name preserved in the books of Mûkji, the famous bard of the Khichi Chauhâns. In my Ratanpur inscription, Jâjalla, the "mighty sovereign of Chedi," is said to have assumed the title of "*Lord of the Suras*;"[1] but whether such a form as Kulasura (Kulachuri) would be permissible, is perhaps doubtful. This title would seem to have been confined to the Tripuri branch of the Haihayas and its ramifications; while the Manipur kings, after the transfer of their capital to Ratanpur, were known as the Ratnavali Haihayas.

The present village of Tewar is a small place, six miles to the west of Jabalpur, and on the south side of the Bombay road. Many of the inhabitants are stone-cutters, whose chief, perhaps only, quarries are in the ruins of the old city of Karanbel and its temples. To the east of the village there is a fine large tank named Bâl Sâgar. Its embankment is formed of square blocks of granite, cramped with iron. Near the middle of the tank there is a small island, with a whitewashed modern temple.

At the west end of the village, under a large tree, are collected together a great number of sculptures, all more or less broken, but many of them still in very good preservation otherwise. Every one of them is said to have been brought from the site of the old city of Karanbel, about half a mile to the south-west of the village of Tewar.

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[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1863, p. 284; translated by Babu Râjendra Lála.

The most perfect specimen is a Buddhist sculpture of *Vajrapáni*, who is represented seated under a canopy with his hands in front of his breast, with the fingers arranged in the posture of teaching. On the right and left are figures with *chauris* and garlands; and two kneeling figures, that to the left holding 2 *vajras* or thunderbolts, and the other to the right with his hands joined in adoration. On the pedestal is inscribed the Buddhist creed of "*Ye dharma hetu*," &c., in large letters, which is followed by a longer inscription beginning with the name of *Vajrapáni*.

A long stone, broken at one end, presents a number of figures, grouped about a man, who is lying on a bed. His right knee is raised, and grasped by his left hand; while his right hand rests on his head. To the right, a female is kneeling at his head; and to the left, a male attendant is standing, with joined hands. Beyond him, there are two females, seated on *morhas*. Below these is an inscription of two lines; but the letters are much worn, and the reading is doubtful. The sleeping figure is known as *Tripura Devi*, in spite of its masculine appearance.

A small statue of a four-armed female, with a crocodile symbol, is worshipped as *Narmada mai*, or "Mother Narbada"; but it is more probably a figure of Ganga from one of the old temples.

There are many other sculptures, which need not be described further than that they belong principally to the worship of Vishnu and Siva. Of the latter, there is a statue, 3½ feet in height, with 3 heads and 12 arms. Of the former, there is a Krishna, playing the flute and attended by several naked females. There are also many obscene sculptures, like those which disgrace the fine temples at Khajurâho.

Lastly, there are three naked Jain statues of the Digambari sect: one of Adinâth, seated with 2 naked attendants and a bull on the pedestal; and 2 standing figures, 2½ feet high, which once formed part of a pillar.

About half a mile to the south-east of the village are the ruins of the old city of *Tripura*, now known as *Karanbel*. The following account of the remains is taken from Mr. Beglar's report; and it will be useful to compare it with Colonel Yule's account, which was written many years earlier.[1]

"Tradition speaks loudly of the immense ruins of Karanbel; but the railway, with its insatiable capacity of absorbing to itself all workable stone

[1] See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1861, vol. XXX, p. 211.

within its influence, has long since so reduced the ruins, that no remains are now supposed to have been left of any interest. I found, however, at the foot of a low, long hill, known as *Kari-Sarai*, the remains of two structures. One of these, situated about a mile and a half from Tewar, consists of a cell, composed of two rows of three pillars each, with long stones between them, piled on each other for walls, on three sides. The pillars are 1⅓ feet square; but they are evidently taken from some more ancient building, as two of them, though doing duty as pillars, are the top or sides of a doorway. The pillars are surmounted by cruciform corbels, one foot three inches deep, carrying architraves of the same depth and one foot six inches wide. The roof itself has long ago disappeared. The ruin is known as "the Banya's house." About 200 feet off it, but quite hidden away in the dense jungle, one comes quite suddenly on a remarkably picturesque ruin. This consists of the remains of two distinct buildings, both made of, or supplemented by, spoils from other buildings. They consist of two colonnades. The higher and larger one has four rows of pillars, three in each row, surmounted by capitals and architraves, but without a roof. The other consists of four rows of two pillars each, but much lower in height; though the pillars appear similar, both in execution and in all particulars of size, except height. These are also surmounted by corbelled capitals and architraves. The pillars are not all alike: some are very fine and massive, and plainly, but exquisitely and boldly, sculptured; some are thin and coarsely executed; while others, again, are made up of nondescript fragments, piled upon each other. The architraves, surmounting and connecting the pillars, are massive and sculptured in the plain geometric patterns so common in the Chandel temples of Central India. One of the finer pillars is represented in the accompanying plate.[1]

"Turning sharp round from these ruins is a narrow goat-path, leading up the low hillock; the top is flat and of considerable extent, and is strewn with fragments of bricks. This hillock, or mound, is known as *Bara Hathia Garh*. This last is in places profusely scattered over with fragments of bricks, which must have been of large size, as I measured a fragment more than 14 inches long by a foot wide.

"The broken bricks both on this and on the smaller height, following generally the edge of the flat tableland on the top, show that they are the remains of a defensive wall of some kind, which ran along the edge of the hillocks. In addition to the bricks, there are also rudely dressed stones, piled on each other, without cementing material of any kind. It appears from these that both hillocks were at one time surrounded by a fortified wall, built of brick, or of brick and stone. This fort was naturally divisible into two portions, occupying respectively the larger and smaller heights, and connected or separated by the depressed neck between them, spoken of before. The larger contained, besides, a citadel of rubble stone walls, laid on each other without cementing material. The position is naturally strong; being defended on three sides by a great bend of a rivulet, which runs past, and is known as the Bân Gangá. The ravines from the river reach right up to these hillocks, and are deep, with very steep sides.

[1] See Plate XIV for this pillar, with two others from Bhera Ghât.

"A few fragments of sculpture are scattered here and there within Bara Hathia Garh. The principal statue, which is still worshipped, is a large three-headed figure, having a tall conical head-dress, ornamented with 7 rows of fringes. The heads have all a third eye in the forehead; the left head has its mouth open, and the tongue projected half out. The figure is broken; the portion now remaining being only the upper half of the body. The face measures eighteen inches across from ear to ear; and the whole fragment measures three feet nine inches by five feet three inches. As I have already stated, it is worshipped by the villagers; and I found a bunch of peacock's feathers and a few glass bangles, probably the offerings of some devout females, near the statue."

"Close to, and just outside the east end of the fort, there is a deep rock cut hollow containing water. It is unmistakably the site of an old quarry.

"Not far from Tewar and Karanbel there is a sacred tank known locally as *Pushkarini*; close to it, and near the road, is a statue, with an inscription in two lines, which ends with the words '*Isdna Sinha Murttika Pahita*."

18.—BHERA GHAT.

About six miles west-by-south from Tewar by the road, but not more than two miles direct from Karanbel, there is a famous bathing-place on the Narbada, named *Bhera Ghât*. It is situated at the confluence with the Narbada of the small stream which winds round the ruins of Karanbel. At the old city it is called the Bângangâ, but at its junction with the Narbada it is known only as the Saraswati. On both sides of this rivulet there are temples. The western group is co isidered the more sacred one; but the whole are of modern rubble and stucco, and are utterly devoid of interest. Immediately above the confluence are the famous "marble rocks," which rise in nearly vertical strata on both sides above the clear waters of the Narbada. In the fork formed between the little Sarsuti and the great river, the rocks rise into a small hill, which is crowned by a temple, surrounded by a very curious circular cloister of considerable antiquity. A long flight of roughly hewn stone steps leads right up from the bed of the river to the temple. The position of this temple is singularly fine and commanding. Close beneath, on the south, the blue waters of the Narbada seem to sleep, spell bound, under the snow-white walls that shut them in. To the north and west the view is bounded by thickly wooded heights; but on the east the eye looks down on a long reach of the river, stretching away for miles towards Jabalpur. It is just such a spot as a Buddhist would

have chosen for a stûpa. But the attraction for the Brahman must have been the *sangam*, or junction of the holy waters of the little Saraswati with those of the Narbada. Every confluence of rivers is held sacred; and the mingled waters of two streams are considered more efficacious in the washing away of sin than those of any single river, however famous it may be. Hence Bhera Ghât is one of the holy bathing-places on the Narbada. Here bathed King Gáyá Karna, attended by his queen and his son, his prime minister, and his commander-in-chief, his treasurer and his family priest, and other officials, on the occasion of making a grant of land to certain Brahmans. Here also bathed Queen Gosalâ Devi, the widow of King Nara Sinha Deva, on making a grant of the village Choralaga to a Brahman. The spot was, therefore, a holy one in the eyes of the Brahmans, and was no doubt occupied at a very early period by one of their temples.

The present temple is a comparatively modern building, being made up partly of old carved stones, and partly of bricks. It does not occupy the centre of the circle, nor does its mid-line even correspond with the mid-line of the enclosure. The basement of the temple itself, however, appears to be old and undisturbed; but much of the superstructure and the whole of the portico are of a later period. Looking at its position in the north-western quadrant of the circle, I am inclined to think that originally there must have been a similar shrine opposite to it in the south-western quarter, with the main temple, occupying the eastern half of the circle, immediately opposite the western entrance. Accepting this proposed arrangement as a probable one, the oblique position of the south-eastern entrance is at once accounted for by its convenience for an approach from the eastern side. By this arrangement also the portico of the present temple, which now forms an incongruous excrescence, would become quite unnecessary; and its deeply moulded pillars would be available for the portico of the supposed main temple on the east side of the circle.[1] The basement of the present temple, which is 25 feet long by 22 feet broad, will thus belong to the same period as the pillars of the fine circular cloister which now surrounds it.

The temple is known as the shrine of *Gauri Sankar*, from a group placed inside. But this group, which is 4 feet

[1] See Plate XIV for elevation of these pillars.

1½ inches high and 2 feet 7½ inches broad, must have belonged to the cloister series of figures, as it corresponds exactly with their dimensions, and is, moreover, set up on one of the cloister pedestals. Other figures now inside the temple are—

(1) Vishnu and Lakshmi on garud in dark-blue stone.
(2) Sûrya, standing with Arun, driving the seven horses of the sun, 3 feet 6 inches high by 1 foot 10 inches broad.
(3) Small Hara-Gauri, or Siva and Pârvati.
(4) Small figure of Ganesa.
(5) Figure of Dharmma, a 4-armed female, 1 foot 10½ inches high, with a small figure of Buddha in the head-dress. Flying figures with garlands above, and the traces of the Buddhist creed inscribed on the base.

From the presence of this undoubted Buddhist figure it might be supposed that the circular cloister must once have surrounded a Buddhist stûpa. But the letters of the inscription are of later date than those of the names inscribed on the pedestals of the cloister statues, which themselves appear to be an integral part of the original structure. The circular form is certainly unusual in Brahmanical enclosures; but it would appear to be the correct form for temples that are dedicated to the Chaunsat Joginis, as three other Jogini temples of this form are now known. The fifth Jogini temple at Khajurâha is oblong; but all the five temples are hypæthral, or open to the sky.

The inner diameter of the cloister is 116 feet 2 inches, and the outer diameter 130 feet 9 inches. The cloister consists of a circular row of 84 square pillars, with the same number of full pilasters arranged opposite to them against a back wall. The actual cloister is only 4 feet 9 inches wide and 5 feet 3½ inches high under the eaves, with a rise of 8½ inches above the ground. The back wall is 2 feet 7½ inches thick. The eaves are formed by a 10-inch projection of the architrave, which is sloped away in a graceful curve, as shown in the section of the cloister.[1] The whole is roofed with large slabs of stone from 8 to 9 inches thick, which are moulded on both front and back, and form a graceful finish to this fine colonnade.

The number of pillars being 84, the cloister is divided into as many spaces or intervals. Three of these—two to the west, and the other to the south-east—are left as entrances;

[1] See Plate XIII.

while the remaining 81 spaces are fitted with pedestals between the pilasters for the reception of statues. Each of these pedestals is 3 feet 5 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches broad, and 1 foot high.[1] The pillars are $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and the intervals between them 3 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. But the intervals between the back pillars is 3 feet $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, so that the pedestals just fit in between them; and they were no doubt an integral part of the original structure.

The statues are of two kinds—sitting and standing. The sitting statues are generally 4 feet 2 inches high, and 2 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. Where not otherwise described in the following list, they are all four-armed goddesses, and are generally remarkable for the size of their breasts. Most of them are *Joginis* (Sanskrit, *Jogini*), or female demons, attendant on Durgâ. The temple is, therefore, commonly known as the *Chaunsat Jogini*, or "sixty-four female demons." Eight of the figures I have identified as the *ashta sakti*, or female energies of the gods. Three of them seem to be personified rivers; while two only are male figures of Siva and Ganesa [Nos. 15 and 1]. All the other sitting figures I take to be Joginis. There are, besides, four dancing female figures which are not inscribed (Nos. 39, 44, 60 and 78]; but one of them, No. 44, is certainly the skeleton goddess Kâli; and the others are no doubt only various forms of the same malignant deity. Most of the statues have inscriptions on their pedestals, as detailed in the following list.[2]

No.	Inscription.	Symbol.	Figure.	Remarks.
1	Sri Ganesah	...	Sitting	...
2	Sri Chhattra Samvara ...	Deer	Sitting female ...	Jogini.
3	Sri Ajitâ	Fabulous lion ...	Ditto	Do.
4	Sri Chandikâ	Skeleton figures; prostrate man.	Standing female ...	Sakti.
5	Sri Mânandâ	Lotus	Sitting female ...	Jogini.
6	Sri Kâmadi	Yoni; 2 men worshipping.	Ditto	Do.
7	Sri Brahmâni	Goose	Ditto	Sakti.
8	Sri Maheswari	Bull	Ditto	Do.
9	Sri Tankâri	Fabulous lion ...	10-armed female ...	Jogini.
10	Sri Jayani	Feline animal ...	Sitting female ...	Do.
11	Sri Padma-hansâ	Flowers	Ditto	Do.
12	Sri Ranâjirâ	Elephant	Ditto	Do.
13	[Name lost]	Nâgni	Ditto	Do.
14	Sri Hansini	Goose	Ditto	Do.
15	[Not inscribed]	......	16-armed male ...	3-eyed Siva.
16	Sri Iswari	Bull	Sitting female ...	Jogini.
17	Sri Thâni	Hill-peak	Ditto	Do.
18	Sri Indrajâli	Elephant	Ditto	Do.

[1] Wilson, Sanskrit Dict., *in voce*, limits the yoginis to 8; but the number of 64 is well known all over India, and there is, besides, another temple at Khajuraha, which is named after them, the *chaunsat jogini*.

[2] See Plate XVI for copies of all these inscriptions.

No.	Inscription.	Symbol.	Figure.	Remarks.
19	[Broken]	Bull, skeletons	Sitting female	Jogini.
20	[Lost].			
21	Sri Thakini	Camel	Ditto	Do.
22	Sri Dhanendri	Prostrate man	Ditto	Do.
23	[Lost]			
24	Sri Uttâlâ	Antelope	Ditto	Do.
25	Sri Lampatâ	Prostrate man	Ditto	Do.
26	Sri Uhâ	Peacock	Ditto	Saraswati river.
27	Sri *tsamâdâ	Boar	Ditto	
28	Sri Gândhâri	Horse	Winged female	
29	Sri Jâhnavi	Crocodile	2-armed female	Ganges river.
30	Sri Dâkini	Man and skeletons	Sitting female	Jogini.
31	Sri Bandhani	Small male figure	Ditto	
32	Sri Darppahâri	Lion	Sitting female, lions head	
33	Sri Baishnavi	Garud	Female sitting on garud.	Sakti.
34	Sri Danggini	Ditto	Sitting female	Jogini.
35	Sri Rikshini	Crocodile	Ditto	Jogini.
36	Sri Sâkini	Vulture?	Ditto	
37	Sri Ghantâli	Bell	Ditto	Jogini.
38	Sri Tattari	Elephant	Sitting female, elephant's head.	Do.
39	[Not inscribed]	......	Dancing female	Do.
40	Sri Gânggini	Bull	......	Do.
41	Sri Bhishani	Prostrate man, with rayed head-dress.	Sitting female	Do.
42	Sri Satanu Sambarâ	Deer	Ditto	Do.
43	Sri Gahani	Ram	Ditto	Do.
44	[Not inscribed]	......	Dancing female	Kali.
45	Sri Duduri	Saddled horse	Sitting female	Jogini.
46	Sri Vârâhi	Boar	Sitting female with boar's head.	Sakti.
47	Sri Nâlini	Bull	Sitting female with cows' head.	Jogini.
48	S.-E. Entrance.			
49	[Lost].			
50	Sri Nandini	Lion	Sitting female	Do.
51	Sri Indrâni	Elephant	Ditto	Sakti.
52	Sri Eruri	Cow	Ditto with cow's head.	Jogini.
53	Sri Shandini	Donkey	Broken figure	Do.
54	Sri Ainggini	Man with elephant's head.	Sitting female with elephant's head.	Do.
55	[Name lost]	Boar	Sitting female with boars' head.	Do.
56	Sri Teranta	Mahesasur	Sitting female with 20 arms.	
57	Sri Pârani	Prostrate man	Sitting female with 10 arms.	
58	Sri Vâyuvena	Antelope	Broken figure	
59	Sri Ubhera Varddhani	Bird	Ditto	
60	[Not inscribed]	Elephant	Dancing female	
61	Sri Sarvvato-mukhi	Lotus and double triangle.	3-headed 12-armed goddess.	
62	Sri Mandodari	2 men worshipping with folded hands.	Broken female	Jogini.
63	Sri Khemukhi	Long-beaked bird	Ditto	Do.
64	Sri Jâmbavi	Bear	Ditto	Do.
65	Sri Aurâgâ	Naked man	Ditto	Do.
66	[Lost].			
67	Sri Thira-chittâ	Man praying with folded hands.	Sitting female.	
68	Sri Yamunâ	Turtle	Sitting female, 2 arms	River Jumna.
69	[Lost].			
70	Sri Vibhasâ	Prostrate man and skeleton.	Sitting female.	
71	Sri Sinha-sinha	Lion-headed man	Sitting female with lion's head.	Sakti.
72	Sri Niladambarâ	Garud	Ditto	Jogini.
73	[Worn away]	Flame	Ditto	Do.
74	Sri Antakari	Bull	Sitting female with open mouth.	Do.
75	[Name lost].	Long-nosed bull	Sitting female	Do.
76	Sri Pingalâ	Peacock	Ditto	Sakti.

No.	Inscription.	Symbol.	Figure.	Remarks.
77	Sri Ahkhalâ	2 men worshipping with folded hands.	Sitting female ...	Sakti.
78	[Not inscribed]	Bird	Dancing female ...	Jogini.
79	Sri Kshattra dharmini ...	Bull with chain ...	Sitting females; skulls in head-dress.	
80	Sri Virendri	Horse's head and prostrate figure.	Sitting females with sword and shield.	Do.
81	[Lost].			
82	Sri Ridhali Devi	Animal with claws ...	Sitting female ...	Do.
83	W. Entrance			
84				

It will be observed that the four standing statues bear no inscriptions, and that only two of them have symbols on their bases. The sitting statues are made of a grey sandstone, and are all highly ornamented; whereas the standing statues are made of a purplish sandstone, and are much less ornamented. Other details are noted in the following remarks on the probable meanings of the names, and the probable identification of the figures as joginis, saktis, rivers, &c.

2. *Sambará*—a Sâmbar deer. Deer on the pedestal; but the allusion to *chattra* is not known.

3. *Ajitá.*—Ajita-Ṣiva, "the unconquered;" and *ajitá* is the feminine form.

4. *Chandiká*—Durgâ-Maheswari, "the furious."

5. *Mánandá.*—Probably for Ânandâ, the "happy, or joyful."

6. *Kámadi.*—Kâmada is the fabulous cow of plenty; so Kâmadi is the goddess who grants all desires; and the symbol of the *yoni* points to the desires as sexual.

7. *Brahmáni.*—A goose on the pedestal shows that this goddess is the *sakti*, or female energy, of Brahmâ.

8. *Maheswari.*—The bull Nandi on the pedestal shows that this goddess is the *sakti*, or female energy, of Maheswara, or Siva.

9. *Tankâri* is probably derived from *tanka*, a *sword* or *axe*, both of which weapons are carried in two of the ten hands of this goddess.

10. *Jayani*—the "conquering" goddess.

11. *Padma-hansá.*—Not known.

12. *Raṇájirá*—goddess of the "battle field."

14. *Hansini*, or Hansinirâ.—Not known.

16. Iswari.—Name of *sakti*, or female energy, either Durgâ or Lakshmi.

17. Thâṇi.—Sthânu is a name of Siva, as the "firm or immovable," from *stha* to stay, or *sthá* to stand still; hence the mountain peak is an appropriate symbol of *stháni*, the "immovable" goddess, just as a mountain is called *achala*, or the "immovable."

18. Indrajáli—the "deceiving" goddess. The elephant symbol alludes to the name of Indra, with perhaps an allusion to his well-known deceits.

21. Ṭhakini.—Unknown.

With reference to the camel symbol on the pedestal, Mr. Beglar suggests *Ushtrakini*, or the cameline goddess. This derivation is countenanced by that of No. 17, in which the initial sibilaint is omitted.

22. Ḍhaṇendri.—Dhaṇ means to "sound;" but it is spelt with the dental *dh*. The use of the cerebral is probably a mistake, and the name may simply mean the "sounding goddess."

24. Uttálá may perhaps mean the "swift goddess," as the antelope symbol seems to imply.

25. Lampaṭá—the "courtesan goddess."

26. Úhá.—I think that this goddess is the personification of the Saraswati river. In Nos. 29 and 68 we have the Ganges and Jumna personified. The name may be derived from *Úha*, "to reason;" and *Úhá* would mean the "reasoning goddess"—an appropriate name for Saraswati, the goddess of speech and eloquence. This assignment is confirmed by the peacock on the pedestal, which is the symbol of the Saraswati river.

27. * *tsamádá*—boar on pedestal. The initial letter unknown. It occurs again in initial No. 35.

28. Gándhári—a winged goddess, with horse or ass symbol. I think that the name must be connected with *gandharvva*, "a horse," typical of swiftness, which is also implied by the wings.

29. Jáhnavi.—This is a well-known name of the Ganges; and as the symbol is a *makara*, or "crocodile," it is certain that this is the river goddess herself.

30. Ḍákini.—In Hindi *dakin* is the common name for a witch or she-demon.

31. Bańdhani—from *bandh*, to bind, or *bandhan*, hurting, injuring, killing. Mr. Beglar suggests that the man on the pedestal may be a prisoner.

32. Darppahári—most probably a mistake for *Darbbahári*. Darbba means a *rákshasa*, or demon, from *dri*, to "tear;" and *darbbahári* would be the "tearer,"—a title confirmed by the lion on the pedestal, and by the lion's head of the goddess.

33. Vaishnavi is the name of the sakti, or personified energy of Vishnu, known also by garud, on the pedestal.

34. Danggiṇi.—First letter doubtful.

35. Ṛikshiṇi—crocodile on the pedestal. The value of the first letter is uncertain (see No. 27). The symbol of the crocodile seems to point to a river goddess; and Ṛikshiṇi would be the name of the Narbada, which rises in the Ṛiksha mountain. A female figure at Tewar, standing on a crocodile, is called *Narbada mai*, or "Mother Narbada."

36. Sákiṇi.—Wilson describes sâkiṇi as "a female divinity of an inferior character attendant equally on Ṣiva and Durgâ." Mr. Beglar remarks that "in the Baitâl Pachisi sâkiṇis are mentioned in connection with cemeteries." They are, in fact, the female goblins whom Rájá Vikram saw eating the dead bodies. The symbol of a *vulture* on the pedestal is, therefore, appropriate.

37. Ghaṅṭáli—the "bell" goddess, with a bell or *ghanta* on the pedestal.

38. Ṭaṭṭari.—Wilson says a kettle-drum, or any musical instrument. I presume that the name refers to the "*trumpet*," as the goddess has an elephant's head, and there is an elephant on the pedestal. *Ṭaṭṭa* is the imitative sound of the trumpet, like *tantarara* in English.

40. Gánggini.—The first letter is doubtful.

41. Bhíshaṇi—the "terrific goddess." *Bhishaṇa* is a name of Ṣiva.

42. Ṣatanu Sambará—deer on pedestal. Saṁbarâ is the Sâmbar deer.

43. Gahani—ram on pedestal. The first letter is doubtful. The name may mean the destroying goddess, from *gáh*, to destroy.

45. Duduri.—The derivation is not clear: *du* means "bad," and also "to give pain." Perhaps it is only a duplication of *dur* = pain, which would mean the "pain-giving" goddess. But the symbol of the saddled horse is puzzling.

46. Várâhi is one of the *saktis* of Vishnu, as the Varâha Avatâra. There is a boar on the pedestal, and the goddess has a boar's head.

47. *Nâlini*—perhaps from *nal*, "to bind." There is a bull and cow on the pedestal, and the goddess has a cow's head.

50. *Nandini* is the title of the goddess *Párvati*; but the lion on the pedestal rather seems to point to *Nádini*, or "roarer," as the true name.

51. *Indráni*—the wife of Indra. As there is no *Aindri* in this collection, Indrâni must be intended for the *sakti*, or female energy, of Indra.

52. *Eruri*, or *Ejari*; but the first reading seems preferable. The goddess has a cow's head, and there is a cow on the pedestal.

53. *Shaṇḍimi*.—*Shaṇḍa* means a bull; but the animal on the pedestal is apparently an ass.

54. *Ainggini*—an elephant-headed goddess, with an elephant-headed man on the pedestal. The name seems to refer to *ingga*, "movable," which is itself derived from *igi*, 'to go.'

56. *Terañta*, or perhaps *Techanta*. As there is a figure of Mahesasuri on the pedestal, the title must refer to some name of Durgâ. The goddess has 20 arms.

57. *Páravi*.—I take this name to be a mistake for *Párvati*, as the goddess has 10 arms, which point to Durgâ.

58. *Váyuvegá*—"swift as the wind." The antelope on the pedestal evidently alludes to the swiftness.

59. *Abhera Varddhani*—"the increaser of light." There is a class of demi-gods, 64 in number, who are named *abhás-waras*, who, from their number, would appear to have some connection with the 64 joginis. The bird on the pedestal gives no assistance towards the meaning of the name.

61. *Sarvvato-mukhí*.—This goddess has 12 arms and 3 heads, with a head also between her breasts. The number of heads explain the name of "Facing everywhere." Mr. Beglar remarks that the leaves of the lotus and the six points of the double triangle seem also to allude to the name.

62. *Mañdodari*, or "slow-belly," was the name of Râvan's wife.

63. *Khemúkhí*.—The long-beaked bird on the pedestal seems to refer to the name, which may perhaps be translated "voracious mouth," from *khed*, to eat. The statue is broken.

64. *Jámbaví*, or the "bear goddess," with a "bear" on the pedestal, evidently points to *Jámbavat*, the fabulous bear

who was the father-in-law of Krishna. This statue probably had a bear's head; but it is now broken.

65. *Auràgá*—The first letter is not certain, and the naked man on the pedestal does not seem to give any assistance.

67. *Thira-chittá* is probably intended for *Sthira-chitta*, "the firm or steady minded."

68. *Yamuná*.—This goddess is the river Jumna personified, of whom the tortoise on the pedestal was the symbol.

70 *Vibhasá* must be connected either with *vibheshu*, "terrible," or with *vibhitsu*, "the piercer." The skeleton and prostrate man on the pedestal point to some appellation of Durgâ.

71. *Siṅha-siṅhá*.—This lion-headed goddess, with the lion headed-man on the pedestal, is probably intended for *Narasiṅhá*, the sakti or female energy of the *Narasiṅhá avatára*.

72. *Niladambará* is probably the same as *Nilámbará*, a female demon; and the garud on the pedestal refers to her connection with Vishnu.

74. *Aṅtakári*—a goddess, with open mouth, ready to devour—must mean the "death-causer," from *anta*, "end or death." *Antaka* is a name of *Yama*, the god of death; but the bull on the pedestal would seem to refer to Ṣiva, who, as Paṣupati, is also the god of death and destruction.

76. *Piṅgalá* means "tawny, or brownish-red." The peacock on the pedestal would point to Kaumâri, the *sakti* of Skanda Kumâra or Kârttikeya.

77. *Aḥkhalá*.—On the pedestal are two men, with folded hands, worshipping. The reading of the name is clear; but I am ignorant of its meaning.

79. *Kshattra-dharmmiṇi*.—The compound *kshattra-dharmma* means the duty of a kshattra, or soldier, *i. e.*, "bravery." But as *kshattra* is derived from *kshad*, "to eat, to rend, to tear to pieces," the title of this goddess would mean the "tearer to pieces, or the devourer." The skulls in her head-dress confirm this meaning, and the lion on the pedestal must refer to the same.

80. *Vírendri* is armed with sword and shield, and has a horse's head, with skeletons, on the pedestal. I believe that the name should be *Vaireṇdri*, the "inimical goddess," rather than *Vírendri*, the heroic goddess.

82. *Ridháli Devi*—"the hurtful goddess," from *rih*, to "hurt." The animal, with claws, on the pedestal seems to confirm this derivation.

The result of this examination shows that the statue set up in this circular cloister may be divided into five distinct groups as follows:

Saktis, commonly known as *ashta-sakti*	... ...	8 statues.
Rivers: Ganges, Jumna, and Saraswati	... ...	3
Dancing goddesses: Kâli, &c.	... ...	4
Gods: Siva and Ganesa ...	... ...	2
Joginis, or the *chaunsat jogini*, 57 intact, 7 lost...	...	64
		81
Two entrances [= 3 spaces]	... ...	3
	Total ...	84

The *saktis* are generally known by their names, although the lists differ in one or two of them. They form a very common group in most Brahmanical temples, and also in many of the later Buddhist temples.

Two of the *rivers*—the Ganges and the Jumna—are found sculptured in nearly all the earliest Hindu temples, one at each side of the entrance. The Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati are known by their attendant animals, the crocodile, the tortoise, and the peacock, which are singularly appropriate symbols of the three rivers. The Ganges teems with crocodiles; the Jumna with tortoises; and the banks of the Saraswati with peafowl.

The dancing *goddesses*, Kâli, &c., are known to be merely different representations of Durgâ, the wife of Ṣiva.

The only *gods* now in the cloister are Ṣiva and his son Ganesa.

The *Joginis* are always represented as attendants on the blood-thirsty goddess Kâli or Durgâ. At Khajurâha, where there is a rectangular cloister, with 64 cells, dedicated to them, I was informed that, whenever a battle takes place, the Joginis hasten with their bowls to catch the blood of the slain, and that whoever dedicates a temple to them, will be victorious. In the Rájá Tarangini they are called "divinities of a lower order," *madyapadevata*, who were both lustful and blood-thirsty. They could reanimate the dead to satisfy their desires, or tear them to pieces to appease their hunger.[1] In the Prabodha Chandrodaya they are described as dancing on the field of battle, and making use of the skulls of the slain as symbols.[2] In the Rudra Upanishad it is

[1] See Rájá Tarangini, II, 100-103, and Troyer's note.
[2] Prabodha Chandrodaya, Taylor's Translation, Prologue, XI.

stated that Ṣiva, after the death of Jalandhara on the field of battle,—

"summoned in thought the yoginis, who instantly appeared, and thus, with folded hands, addressed him: 'Oh Ṣiva! what shall we do?' He replied: 'Quickly, in obedience to my command, devour the flesh of that Daitya.' Then Brahmi, Maheṣwari, Kaumâri, Vaishnavi, Vârâhi, and Mahendri, with cruel looks, hastened to devour the flesh of Jalandhara. Ṣiva then said to them: 'Drink up the blood,' and they, delighted, immediately quaffed the gory stream, and danced with joy."[1]

It is perhaps noteworthy that five of the six goddesses mentioned in this extract are generally considered as *saktis*.[2]

At the present day the Joginis are still described as frequenting cemeteries and devouring the dead. When Rájá Vikramâjit approached the siris tree in which a corpse was suspended, "he saw that goblins were laying hold of and eating men; that witches were chewing the livers of children; tigers were roaring, and elephants screaming."[3] This extract explains the origin of many of the names of the joginis, which refer to noise; and why lions and elephants were considered appropriate symbols.

In the Bhera Ghât sculptures, many of the Joginis are represented with their mouths open, and showing their teeth, or rather fangs. In the pictures of the present day they are represented in a similar fashion; but their teeth are longer, and their mouths are always red. This is in strict accordance with the general belief, which has passed into a proverb,—

"Dákin khai, to munh lál,
Nah khai, to munh lál."

"Whether or not she eats the dead,
The goblin's mouth is always red."

Nothing whatever is known about the builder of this curious temple, and the only means we have left to fix the date are the shapes of the characters used in the inscriptions. The style of architecture is plain and simple, and may belong to any period between 900 and 1200 A. D. But the characters of the inscriptions point to the earlier date, as they correspond exactly with those of one of the inscriptions of Lakshmana, who was the father of Yuva Rájá, the contemporary of Vâkpati of Mâlwa. Laksmana's date must,

[1] Researches into Hindu Mythology, by Vans Kennedy, p. 490.
[2] See Colebrooke, Amarakosha, p. 6, note.
[3] Baitâl Pachisi, translated by Hollings, p. 9.

therefore, be placed about A. D. 950 to 975; and to this period, the latter half of the tenth century, I am inclined to assign the statues.

Only one inscription has been found at Bhera Ghât; but this is of a much later date—certainly as late as A. D. 1100. In it is recorded the building of a temple, which I should have been glad to accept as an account of the origin of the Chaunsat Jogini colonnade. The following is Professor Hall's translation of the verses relating to the building of a temple at Bhera Ghât some time after 1100 A. D.:—[1]

Verse 27.—"That *lady*, the open-handed Alhanâ Devi, mother of the happy Nara Sinha Deva, occasioned this sanctuary of Indu Mauli [Ṣiva] to be erected, and this cloister, with its admirable pavement.

Verse 28.—The same, by the agency of her commissioner, constructed this hall of learning and line of gardens, wanting for nothing, in two ranges, attached to the temple of Sambhu [Ṣiva].

Verse 29.—To this divinity, entitled Vaidyanâtha, the queen, to the end that *her* good deeds might be blazoned, set apart the village known by the name of Undi, in the canton of Jâüli, with all the dues *exigible therefrom*."

In these verses the word translated 'cloister' is *maṭha*, which, so far as I know, does not usually mean an open colonnade for the reception of statues, but a monastic cloister or college, where young and unmarried Brahmans pursue their studies. The "admirable pavement," *adbhuta bhumika*, seems, however, more applicable to the open court surrounded by the chaunsat jogini cloister, than to the floor of a college hall. The Bhera Ghât temple, with its circular cloister, was undoubtedly dedicated to Ṣiva; and so also was Alhanâ Devi's temple. But the characters of the inscriptions seem to me to be so clearly of an earlier date than 1100 A. D., that I feel very great hesitation in accepting so late a date for the Bhera Ghât jogini temple. We know that Yaṣa Karna, the father of Gáyá Karna, made a grant to a Brahman, who was still alive in A. D. 1120, when he transferred the land to another person. Gáyá Karna could not, therefore, have begun to reign much before A. D. 1100; and as Alhanâ Devi's temple was built after the death of her husband Gáyá Karna, when her son Nara Sinha Deva was already grown up, its date cannot be placed earlier than 1120 to 1130 A. D., which is just one century and a half later than the period which I should be inclined to assign to it on

[1] Journal of the American Oriental Society, VI, 511. Two Sanskrit inscriptions translated by Professor Hall.

the palæographic evidence. There remains, however, the stubborn fact, that this record of Alhanâ Devi, describing the erection of a temple to Ṣiva, was actually found at Bhera Ghât, where there still exists a temple to Ṣiva, and the only one to which the queen's inscription can possibly be applied. My conclusion therefore is, that the Chaunsat Jogini temple was originally a simple circular enclosure, containing the figures of the Joginis, the wall being of the same height as the statues. This old wall, with the inscribed statues, I would assign to the latter half of the tenth century. That the original wall was restricted to this height, is absolutely certain, from the difference of construction between the upper and lower portions. The lower wall up to the heads of the statues is built throughout of large squared blocks of stone, in regular courses, which fit together accurately; while the upper portion is built of smaller stones of irregular shape, and not accurately fitted, the interstices being filled in with small pieces. In this upper part, also, there are many carved stones, belonging to former buildings. I conclude, therefore, that the circular cloister, as it at present stands, is the work of two different periods: the old circular wall, with its inscribed statues, belonging to the tenth century; and the cloister, with its roof, being the work of Queen Alhanâ Devi in the twelfth century. To this latter period I would assign the portico pillars of the present temple.

In the accompanying plate I have given a sketch of what I conceive to have been the original old wall with its simple projecting eaves over the line of statues; and below it I have given a section of the cloister as it stands at present, showing what I believe to be the additions made by Alhanâ Devi.[1] In the circular temple of Coimbatore the enclosing wall reaches only to the shoulders of the statues. This also is the case with the Buddhist temples in Burma, where the heads of the statues can be seen from the outside over the top of the surrounding walls. Besides the supposed section of the original Bhera Ghât circle, I have given a section of the Rânipur-Jural circle from Mr. Beglar's drawings. In this example there is no colonnade, but only a simple surrounding wall, with thin partition walls separating the 64 statues—an arrangement which tends very strongly to confirm the correctness of my supposed design of the original Bhera Ghât temple.

[1] See Plate XIII.

In the oblong Jogini temple at Khajurâha there are 64 distinct *cells*, separated from each other by thick walls; while each cell has a distinct pyramidal roof. Colonel Macpherson, also describes 65 *cells* in the Surâdâ temple[1] in the district of Kâlâhandi. There is no mention of cells in the Coimbatore circle; but there are exactly 64 cells in the Rânipur-Jural circular cloister. In the Khajurâha example the circular form was perhaps found impracticable, owing to the narrowness of the ridge on which it is built. But as all the other four temples are circular, it would seem that this was the recognized, if not the obligatory, form of a Jogini temple. But there is another peculiar feature, which must, I think, be considered as absolutely obligatory, as all the five known examples are simple enclosures, open to the sky. They may, therefore, be called Indian hypæthral temples, as they have already been designated by Sir Walter Elliot.

In the Khajurâha enclosure there is no trace of any central shrine; but in the Bhera Ghât circle there is a raised platform, which, as it lies in a direct line between the two entrances, would appear to have formed a part of the original structures. In the Rânipur-Jural temple there is a central canopy, supported on four pillars, and an open shrine, due south, in the surrounding wall.

The following are the dimensions of these curious circular temples :—

Bhera Ghât temple,	130 feet	9 inches	outer diameter.
Surâdâ	,,	66 ,,	10 ,,	,,
Rânipur-Jural	,,	55 ,,	9 ,,	,,

In the narrow channel of the Narbada, winding between the white marble rocks, there is one place where the cliffs approach so closely, that the people have named it the monkey's leap [*bandar kudni*]. This passage is said to have been made by Indra; and the round marks of his elephant's feet are still pointed out on the rocks. According to the legend, the monkey, who gave the name to this narrow part of the river, lost her life in attempting to leap across. She fell into a clump of bamboos, where her head stuck fast, while her body fell into the Narbada. In her next birth this monkey became the daughter of the Rájá of Kâṣi [Benares]. In person she was faultless; but she had a monkey's head. Learned Brahmans were consulted, who

[1] Indian Antiquary, VII, p. 20, about lat. 20° and long. 83°.

gave their opinion that her monkey's head was derived from her previous birth; that her monkey's body had been purified by immersion in the holy waters of the Narbada, but the head was still impure. The monkey's head was accordingly diligently sought for, and taken from its bamboo tomb, when, after immersion in the Narbada, the princess suddenly found her head changed into that of a lovely girl.

I have already noted that nothing whatever is known by the people regarding the building of the Chaunsat Jogini temple; but there is a widely known legend which attributes its erection to a miraculous personage named *Sâlivâhan Nâgvansa.* His mother was the beautiful daughter of a Baniya of Benares, who, when going to bathe in the Ganges, was pursued by a large snake; and finding herself unable to escape, sat down, and shut her eyes in horror. But the nâga was charmed by her beauty; and assuming his human shape, had connexion with her. When the signs of pregnancy appeared, her parents turned her out of the house; and she found refuge with an old potter. Soon after she gave birth to a son, who was adopted by the potter; and from that day good luck attended him. When the boy was 7 or 8 years old, the King of Delhi sent to demand tribute from the Rájá of Benares, whose country extended to Badalgarh on the south side of the Narbada. When the Rájá and his minister were debating what was to be done, the old potter and the boy happened to attend with some vessels which he had been ordered to make. The boy, hearing the discussion, suddenly, to the surprise of every one, counselled war. After his return home, he went out to play in the jungle; and having loitered till it was dark, he lost his way, and, getting quite bewildered, he sat down and cried. At that very moment Ṣiva and Pârvati were riding together through the air on the bull Nandi. When Pârvati heard the child's cry, she prevailed on Ṣiva to descend to the earth. The boy told the story of the morning; how he had made a promise to fight for the Rájá; but as he had neither followers nor money, he could not keep his promise, and could only bewail his helplessness. Then Pârvati took pity on him, and begged Ṣiva to give him some help. So Ṣiva questioned the boy whether he had nothing of his own: to which he replied that he had nothing whatever, except plenty of clay toys.[1] Ṣiva

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[1] In India children's toys are usually made of clay. This legend I owe to Mr. Beglar.

gave him a handful of ashes, and told him to bathe early in the morning, and afterwards to sprinkle all his toys with the ashes, and to say to them—"By the mercy of Mahâdeva, may you become alive." With a warning that the men so created, though invincible on land, would melt away and disappear in water, the god and goddess resumed their flight through the air.

In the morning the boy did exactly according to Ṣiva's bidding; and, with his army of animated clay men, gave battle to the King of Delhi; and so utterly defeated him, that he fled away at once, with all his soldiers, to the south, towards the Narbada. The potter's boy unthinkingly followed them into the river—when, instantly, his whole army disappeared, and he was left alone on the north bank of the Narbada, facing the King of Delhi and his troops on the south bank. Seeing everything lost, he fled away at once to Benares, where the Rájá received him with joy, and set him up as Rájá of Badalgarh, with the title of *Sâlivâhan Nâgvansi.* Soon after his accession, he built the temple at Bhera Ghât, out of gratitude to his benefactors; and in it he placed the statues of Ṣiva and Pârvati, riding their bull Nandi, just as he had seen them when he was crying in the jungle.

This group is now actually inside the temple; but, from its coincidence in size with the cloister figures, as well as from its being set up on one of the cloister pedestals, there can be no doubt that it is one of the original set of figures. The group is a peculiar one, as the god has a bull's head; while both figures are represented actually riding the bull Nandi—one behind the other, with legs astraddle, instead of being seated in the usual fashion, side by side, with crossed legs. My impression is, that this group was the principal object of worship, and, as such, was originally set up on the platform in the midst of the open court.

The name of *Chedi*, as already noticed, is as old as the composition of the Mahâbhârata, in which Sisupâl Rájá of Chedi, whose betrothed wife Rukmini was carried off by Krishna, is one of the principal figures. It was in Chedi also, in the palace of the Rájá, that Damayanti took refuge when deserted by Nala. In the Mahâbhârata, Rájá Chedi is said to be the son of Damaghosha; but in the Purânas he is called the son of Kusika. In either case, he was a descendant of Kroshtri, the younger son of Yadu, the progenitor of

the Yâdavas. But these are the half mythical heroes of the early legends of India. The later kings of Chedi, who ruled over the country along the upper course of the Narbada for several centuries, also claim descent from Yadu, through Kârtavirya and Haihaya, the descendants of Sahasrajit, the elder brother of Kroshtri. Their temples and inscriptions still remain to attest both their wealth and the extent of their dominions. In all their inscriptions they boast of their descent from Kârtavirya or Arjun of the thousand arms (Sahasrabahu), "the destroyer of the ten-necked demon's pride" [Râwan]. They also call themselves *Haihayas*, or the descendants of *Haihaya*,—a name by which they are well known all over India. But the particular name of the brilliant dynasty which ruled over Chedi for several centuries before the Muhammadan conquest was *Kulachuri*, the origin of which is unknown. The princes of this dynasty established an era of their own, which is called sometimes the *Kulachuri Samvat*, and sometimes the *Chedi Samvat*. It is used in all their inscriptions, and, as nearly as I can ascertain at present, it would appear to have been founded in A. D. 248. They also styled themselves "kings of Trikalinga," *tri-Kalingâdhipati*, and lords of *Kâlanjjarapura*.

The capital of Chedi was named Tripura after the demon Tripura, who was said to have been slain by Ṣiva on the site of the city. It is almost certainly as old as the establishment of the Kulachuri dynasty, as it would appear to have been their capital throughout the whole period of their rule. Of the early history of the dynasty nothing has yet come to light; but it may be conjectured with much probability that the Kulachuri rule was firmly established in *Chedi-des* at the time when their era was founded, about A. D. 248. The Kulachuris are first mentioned in the time of Mangalisa Châlukya [A. D. 530 to 550], who is said to have destroyed their power.[1] The same king is also said to have expelled Budha Rájá, son of Sankaragana. No country is mentioned; but as the peculiar name of Sankaragana occurs twice amongst the rulers of Chedi at a later period, I conclude that Budha Rájá must have been one of the earlier Kulachuri sovereigns. His father Sankaragana would, therefore, have lived about A. D. 500. In later Châlukya inscriptions we learn that the Haihayas were defeated by Vinayâditya (A. D.

[1] See Sir Walter Elliot in Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, IV, 39; and Sir LeGrand Jacob in Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal I, 209.

660 to 695), and that Vikramâditya II (inscription S. S. 665 = A. D. 733) married Lokamahâ Devi, a Haihaya princess.

In Bâna's Harsha Charita, mention is made of Kâkavarna, lord of Chandi [? Chedi], who was cut off by a descendant of Ṣiṣupâla. The name of Ṣiṣupâla[1] the famous Rájá of Chedi, is sufficient to show that this Kâkavarna must have been one of the kings of that country.

I.—BILHARI INSCRIPTION.

The earliest inscription that has yet been discovered of the Haihaya rulers of Chedi was found in the old city of Bilhari. The text has been published by Professor Hall, with his accustomed accuracy.[2] No translation is given; but all the historical facts worth preserving are duly noted. The slab is a large one, 6 feet 5½ inches by 3 feet 5 inches. When Professor Hall saw it, it was at Jabalpur; but it has since been removed to the Nâgpur Museum. The following is his summary of its contents:—

"The names of kings—

Kokalla.
|
Mugdhatunga,
|
Keyûravarsha.
|
Lakshmana.
|
Sankaragana.
|
Yuvarájá.

"In this series, the succession passed from father to son; only Yuvarájá was Sankaragana's younger brother.

"We here have introduced to us a new line, descended from Kokalla, that bore sway in Chedi; the other line being that which proceeded through Gângeya. Whether he was the elder son, or whether Mugdhatunga was, is not ascertained. However this may have been, it is tolerably clear, that, immediately after the time of Kokalla, Chedi underwent partition.

"Kokalla's grandson's grandson, Gáyá Karna, married a granddaughter of Udayâdita, sovereign of Dhârâ; and the Krishna Rájá whom Kokalla is said to have defeated in the south was not, impossibly, that lady's ancestor. Again, the Bhoja whom he is recorded to have vanquished in the west was, without much question, one of the two kings

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[1] Prof. Hall's Preface to Vâsavadatta, quoted by Bhau Daji in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, X, 42.

[2] Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, XXX, p. 317.

of Kanauj who bore that appellation. These kings will be spoken of in my next paper.

"Of Mugdhaṭunga's exploits we learn nothing, further than that he wrested Pâli from the lord of Kosala.

"Keyûravarsha wedded a lady, Nohalâ by name, of whose family a few particulars are specified. Her father was Avanivarman, son of Sadhanwan, son of Sinhavarman. Their clan was the Châlukya. The Châlukyas, it is related, arose in this wise: Drona, son of Bharadwaja, becoming on one occasion incensed at Drupada, took water in his hand, in act to curse him. Some of it fell to the ground; and from it the Châlukyas derived their origin.

"Queen Nohalâ erected a temple to Śiva, and gave it in charge to Iśwaraśiva, disciple of Śabdaśśiva, who came after Pavanaśiva, son of Madhumati. On Iśwaraśiva she bestowed two villages, Nipânîya and Vipâtaka; and she likewise set apart, for the behoof of the temple, Dhangata, Pâtaka, Pondî. Nâgabalâ, Khailapâṭaka, Vidâ, Sajjâkalî, and Gashṭhapâli.

"Lakshmana was son of Keyûravarsha by Nohalâ. Like his grandsire, Lakshmana waged hostilities against Kosala, and overcome its chief; if words of an Indian eulogist may be taken literally. Oḍra, or Orissa, he is also reported to have invaded, and to have despoiled its king of an effigy of Kâliya, wrought in gold and precious stones. This effigy he consecrated to Śiva, at the famous temple of Someswara or Somanâtha, in Gujarât, where he had before dedicated a car.

"Nohalâ's temple, from which doubtless our inscription came, is again spoken of, with its incumbents, and their spiritual precursors. One Rudrasambhu was a devotee at Kadambaguhâ. Among his disciples was Mattamayûranâtha, who was religious guide to a chieftain called Avanti. A line of holy personages is named as having followed Mattamayûranâtha's successor, Dharmasâmbhu: Sadâśiva, Madhumateya or Sudhâman, Chûdâśiva, and Hridayaśiva. The last was in the service of Râjâ Lakshmana, who entrusted to him the temple aforesaid. From Hridayaśiva it passed into the custody of Sâdhuvrinda, disciple of Aghoraśiva.

"Sankaragana and his younger brother are dismissed by the inscription-writer with nine stanzas of vague encomium.

"Equally in inscriptions from the west, and in the one under abstract, which was discovered not far from the Narmadâ, we encounter the very uncommon names of Kokalla and Sankaragana, where the kings of Chedi are in question. There can scarcely, then, any longer be a doubt, that it is one and the same royal family which all those memorials have in reference.

"The first three kings of our inscription are panegyrized in it, we are told, by Srinivâsa, son of Sthirânanda; and the remaining three by Sajjana, son of Shîra. The compiler and supplementer of their labours seems to have been Râjâśekhara. If this was the dramatist, a matter of some curiosity, in a literary point of view, now approaches its solution. Towards its conclusion, the inscription is much worn. Something is wholly abraded; and much more is impracticable of confident decipherment. The names Tripurî, Saubhâgyapura, Lavaṇa-

gara, and Durlabhapura are, however, perfectly legible; and so are those of the transcriber for engraving, Tunâi, son of Vîra, and of the engraver Nona, son of Sangana, artificer. But the most important loss by much is that of the date, which was dynastic. I hazard the conjecture that it corresponded to one of the early years of the twelfth century."

From this summary it appears that Professor Hall was inclined to look upon Kokalla as the same prince who is named in the Benares and Kumbhi copper-plates. But this identification seems to me to be quite impossible; and I think that the following facts are sufficient to prove that there were two Kokallas, who were separated by four intervening generations.

1.—The Kokalla of the Bilhari inscription is said to have defeated Krishna Rájá of the south, whom I take to be Krishna Râshtrakuta, who certainly reigned about 860 to 880 A. D., as he was the fifth in descent from Dânti-Durgâ [inscription S. S. 675 = A. D. 753], and also the great grandfather of Govinda Râshtrakuta [inscription S. S. 855 = A. D. 933]. In one of the Râshtrakuta inscriptions,[1] this Krishna Rájá is said to have married Mahâdevi, the *daughter* of Kokalla Rájá of Chedi, which further confirms the early date assigned to this Kokalla, whom I will hereafter designate as Kokalla I.

2.—In another Râshtrakuta inscription[2] the King Jagatrudra, son of Krishna, is stated to have married the two daughters of Sankaragana, Rájá of Chedi, and son of Kokalla I.

3.—In a third Râshtrakuta inscription[3] Indra Rájá is said to have married Dwijâmbâ, the great-grand-daughter of Kokalla I. Now, the date of Indra Rájá and his queen is fixed with certainty by an inscription of their son Govinda Rájá, in S. S. 855 = A. D. 933.

From these three inscriptions, which fix the date of his daughter, his grand-daughter, and his great grand-daughter, there can be little doubt that the Krishna Rájá whom Kokalla I. encountered must have been the Râshtrakuta prince who flourished from about 860 to 880 A. D.

There was also a fourth marriage connection of a Râshtrakuta prince with a daughter of Chedi; but the name of the lady's father, *Yuvarájá*, which means younger Rájá, or heir-apparent, leaves it uncertain whether the father of the

[1] Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society, IV, 97.
[2] Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, III, 102.
[3] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, IV, 97.

princess Kandakâ Devi was Lakhsmana himself, or his younger son, each of whom bore the title of Yuvarájá. Amogha Varsha, the Râshtrakuta Rájá, was himself the great-grandson of Kokalla I, through his mother Govindâmbâ, and was, therefore, of the same generation as Lakshmana. I incline rather to identify Kandakâ Devi's father with Lakshmana, as her grandson Amogha Varsha II was reigning in S. S. 894 = A. D. 972; so that she cannot well be placed later than A. D. 940, which is the approximate date of Lakshmana. The difference, however, amounts to one generation, or about 20 to 25 years.

The date of the second Kokalla will appear in the discussion on the later inscriptions of the Kulachuri princes.

II.—KARITÁLAI INSCRIPTION.

This large inscription measures 4 feet 3 inches by 3 feet 8 inches, and contains 34 lines of well-formed Kutila characters. The stone is broken in several pieces, and the lower left-hand corner is missing, as well as some unknown portion at the top. There is no date now remaining; but the approximate date is known from the name of the King Lakshmana Rájá, the son of Yuvarájá Deva, who reigned from about A. D. 950 to 975.

The inscription opens with the name of Yuvarájá Deva and his minister Bhaka Misra. The son of the latter, named Someswara, became the guru of Yuvarájá's son, Lakshmana, who is said to have erected a very high building with a tall flag, "threatening the birds of heaven." The place, called *Pâṭangir*, was on a mountain, from which flowed a river.[1] Rájá Lakshmana also bestowed 8 villages on 8 Brahmans, as follows:—

To Bhânu Bhaṭṭa	...	Ehaḍa.
„ Mahâdeva Bhaṭṭa	...	Chakrahirdi.
„ Sankara Bhaṭṭa	...	[Name lost.]
„ Someswara Bhaṭṭa	...	[Name lost.]
„ Dhavalahara Bhaṭṭa	...	Dwâdaskhânika grâma.[2]
„ „ „	...	Mâlâdwadasa grâma.
„ „ „	...	Sâyanavaṭa garttika.
„ Someswara Bhaṭṭa	...	Khariwa grâma.

At the same time several other Brahmans received "eleven yokes of land."

[1] This would appear to be the same place as Patkar of the Jabalpur copper-plate (No. 4 inscription), from which the river Karnavati is said to flow. There is a town called *Patan*, 18 miles west-north-west from Jabalpur on the direct road to Ságár.

[2] Village of the "twelve mines."

III.—BENARES INSCRIPTION.

The Benares inscription, which is engraved on two large copper-plates, was found in a well in the Râjghât fort at Benares in the beginning of the present century. A summary of its contents was given by Wilford; but there is good reason to believe that this was inaccurate in some of its details. The copper-plates, which were lost for a long time, were re-discovered about 1362, when, through the kindness of Mr. Griffith, Principal of the Benares College, I received a carefully made impression of the inscriptions, with a translation by one of the pupils of the College. During my stay in England I made over to Professor Hall both the impression and the translation; and I have now with me only a few of my own notes to refer to. From these I am able to state that the record was dated in *Samvat* 793 *Phálgun badi 9 Some*," which were the last words on the plate. This date was quite distinct, and it was not possible to read the figures ७९३ in any other way. I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193; and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plate, as he states "the grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192."[1]

Wilford's account of this inscription is given in the following extracts:—

"A few years ago (in 1801), this grant was found at the bottom of an old well, filled with rubbish, in the old fort of Benares. It is engraven on two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the imperial seal. It is of the same size, nearly, and in the same shape with that found at Monghir. The writing is also the same, or at least without any material deviation. The imperial seal is about three inches broad. On it, in bas-relievo, is Pârvati with four arms, sitting with her legs crossed. Two elephants are represented—one on each side of her, with their trunks uplifted. Below is the bull *Nandi*, in a reclining posture; and before him is a basket. Between Pârvati and the bull is written *Sri Karna Deva*. The grant is dated in the second year of his new era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192.

"The ancestors of *Sri Karna Deva* mentioned in the grant were, first, his father *Gángeya Deva*, with the title of *Vijaya Kántaka*; he died in a loathsome dungeon. He was the son of *Kokalla Deva*, whose father was *Lakshmana Rájá Deva*.

"The famous Sri Karna Deva, in his grant, lately found at Benares, declares that he was of the Haihaya tribe, who lived originally on the banks of the Narmadâ in the district of the western *Ganḍa* or *Gauṛ*, in the province of Malwa. Their residence was at *Chauli Maheswara*, a

[1] Asiatic Researches, IX, 108.

famous place of worship to this day on the Narmadâ, and built by one of his ancestors. The western Gauṛ was also the native country of a most respectable tribe of Brahmans called *Sandila*, who for several generations acted as prime ministers to the emperors of the *Andhra* tribe. That this was their native country is attested by Major Mackenzie in his account of the kings of *Warangal*. One of the thirty-six musical modes in India, and belonging to the superior Râga, or mode called *Málava*, is denominated *Gauṛ* from the country of *Gauḍa*, which was part of the province of *Málava*.

"For by Gauḍa we must not by any means understand Bengal, which, as far as I can recollect, is never thus called in any book I ever met with. Its metropolis is indeed called *Gauḍi*, from the goddess of that name, who was worshipped there: hence it is with propriety called *Gauri gafha* (Gorygaga) by Ptolemy. But *Gauḍa*, as the name of a country, does not seem to be in the least connected with that of the goddess *Gauḍi*."

These extracts agree generally with the notes which I made from the Pandit's translation already mentioned; but the original gives a longer genealogy, which most satisfactorily confirms my argument regarding the early date of the Chedi kings mentioned in the Bilhari grant. According to the Pandit's reading, the genealogy was as follows:—

Kârttavirya Deva,
from whom descended the Haihayas.
|
Kokalla,
married Nandâ Devi Chandella.[1]
|
Prasiddha Dhavala.
|
Bâla Harsha.
|
[Yuvarájá Deva,
younger brother did not reign.]
|
Lakshmana.
|
Sankaragana.
|
[Yuvarájá Deva,
younger brother did not reign.]
|
Kokalla Deva,
lord of the earth.
|
Gânggeya Deva.
|
Karna Deva.

[1] I find the name of this famous clan thus written with double *l* in several inscriptions.

Here, then, we see that there were actually two Kokallas, as I have already deduced from a comparison of the Chedi line of kings in the Bilhari grant with that of the Râsht-sokuta princes, whose daughters intermarried with them. In both grants we find a Lakshmana Rájá, the grandson of Kokalla I, and the father of two sons named Sankaragana and Yuvarájá. It is true that the name of Mugdhatunga is widely different from Prasiddha Dhavala; but the royal fashion of having two or more names was so common at this period of Indian history, that the difference is of little moment when the names of the first, fourth and fifth generations are absolutely the same.[1] In the third generation, also, Yuvárájá was the younger brother of Keyûra Varsha, and his own name is not known; but in both plates he is made the father of Lakshmana.

I may note, also, that in both the Bilhari and Benares grants, Kokalla I is said to have warred with Bhoja Rájá. This Bhoja is not the famous Rájá of Dhar, the pet of the Brahmans, who lived about A. D. 1000 to 1050, but the much greater Bhoja of Kanauj, whose rule extended from the confines of Kashmir to Mâlwa. He is mentioned in the Rájá Tarangini as a powerful chief *adhiráj*, who had overrun the country of *Thakkiya*, from which he was expelled by Ṣañkara Varmma between 883 and 901 A. D.[2] He is the Bhoja Deva of the Pahewa inscription which is dated in Samvat 276, and of the Benares copper-plate inscription of his son Mahendra Pâla Deva, which is dated in Samvat 315. These dates I refer to the era of Sri Harsha [or Harsha Varddhana of Kanauj], which began in A. D. 607. Bhoja's date in the Pahewa inscription will, therefore, be A. D. 882, and that of his son, 921 A. D. This Bhoja is also the hero of my Gwalior inscription, which is dated in Samvat 933, or A. D. 876; and lastly, he was the possessor of Eastern Mâlwa, as I found an inscription bearing his name in the great fort of Deogarh to the east of Chanderi, which is dated in Samvat 919, and in Saka kâla 784, both in words and figures, equivalent to A. D. 862. It is certain, therefore, that this Bhoja Deva of Kanauj must have reigned from A. D. 860 to 890; and we may, therefore, safely fix his contemporary, Kokalla I, at 850 to 870 A. D.

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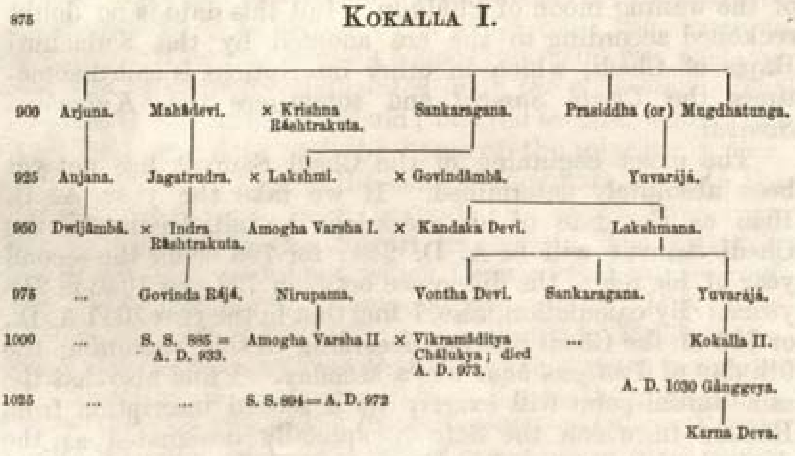
[1] Thus Krishna Rájá was also called Upendra; and his grandson Vâkpati was also known as Amogha Varsha and Munja.

[2] Rájá Tarangini, V, v. 151. Thakkiya must be the district called *Tse-kia* or *Takia* by Hwen-Thsang, and the *Tákiya* which was visited by Jaisiya, son of Dâhir, on his way from Sindh to Kashmir.

But there is still another evidence in favour of the early date of the Kulachuri princes who are recorded in the Bilhari grant. One of the composers of the inscription was Rájá Ṣekhara, who, as the name is an uncommon one, was most probably the poet Rájá Ṣekhara whose patron was Mahendra Pâla Rájá of Mahadaya or Kanauj. Now, I have already noted that the inscription of Mahendra Pâla, the son of Bhoja Deva of Kanauj, is dated in 921 A. D., which makes him a contemporary of Lakshmana Kulachuri, the hero of the Bilhari grant. For Lakshmana was the great-grandson of Kokalla I; and was, therefore, of the same generation as Indra Rájá and Amogha Varsha I, the two Râshtrakuta princes whose dates are absolutely known from copper-plate inscriptions recorded in the Sâka era.

The complete accordance of the dates derived from all the inscriptions previously quoted will be best seen by placing the generations and their intermarriages side by sidė.



From these lists we learn with certainty that Kokalla II was of the same generation as Amogha Varsha II Râshtrakuta, who was reigning in A. D. 972; and that he was the nephew of Vontha Devi, whose husband Vikramâditya IV Châlukya died in A. D. 973. His generation, therefore, belongs to the period about 980 to 1000 A. D. That this was his real date, we have further evidence in the fact, that his father, Yuvarájá, had fought with Vâkpati Rájá of Dhâr, three of whose dates, A. D. 974, 979, and 997, are

known.[1] It is also recorded that Kokalla's grandson Karṇa warred with Bhima Deva of Gujarât, A. D. 1022 to 1072; and with Bhoja Deva of Dhâr, of whom we have an inscription dated in A. D. 1021, and who is known to have been alive in A. D. 1042. But there is also an inscription of a Kokalla at Khajurâha, which is dated in Samvat 1058, or A. D. 1001, just two years after the death of Rájá Dhanga Chandel. It seems probable, therefore, that Kokalla II. may have made a successful invasion of the Chandel territory after the accession of Ganda Rájá, the son of Dhanga. Gânggeya Deva, the son of Kokalla, probably reigned for only a short time, as nothing is recorded of him save that he died at Prayâga, or Allahabad. Karna, the son of Gânggeya, may, therefore, have succeeded as early as 1020 A. D., or certainly not later than 1040, which agrees exactly with the notices already quoted, which make him a contemporary of Bhima Deva of Gujarât and of Bhoja Deva of Dhâr. His own inscription is dated in Samvat 793, on Monday, the 9th of the waning moon of Phâlgun. But this date is no doubt reckoned according to the era adopted by the Kulachuri Rájás of Chedi, which in other inscriptions is called sometimes the *Chedi Samvat* and sometimes the *Kulachuri Samvat*.

The exact beginning of the Chedi Samvat has not yet been absolutely determined. If we take the year A. D. 1040 as the date of his accession, the initial-point of the Chedi Samvat will be A. D. 249; for 793 being the second year of his reign, the difference between 792 and 1040 is 218 years. By calculation, also, I find that in the year 1041 A. D., or 793 of the Chedi Samvat, according to this reckoning the 9th day of *Phâlgun badi* was a Monday. I find also that the same initial-point will exactly fit a second inscription from Râjim, in which the date is specially designated as the *Kulachuri Samvat*. This date is expressed as follows[2]—

Kulachuri samvatsare 896 Mágha masi
Sukla pakshe Rathashtamyam Budha dine.

A second inscription from Seorinârâyan is also dated in the *Kulachuri Samvat* in the year 898, *Aswin sudi some*. A

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[1] See Professor Hall in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, p. 197, for A. D. 974; and XIX, p. 475, for A. D. 979.

[2] This is the inscription noted in Asiatic Society's Researches, XV, p. 505, as being dated in Samvat 796; but the first figure is clearly 8, as indeed had been suggested by Wilson.

third inscription, also from Seorinârâyan, gives its date as "*Chedi Samvat 919.*" And a fourth inscription from Kharod is dated in "*Chedi Samvat 933.*" It is to be noted that these four inscriptions, in which the name of the era is specially distinguished as the *Chedi* or *Kulachuri Samvat* do not belong to the Chedi Haihayas of Tripuri, but to the Ratnâvali Haihayas, or eastern branch of the family which ruled over Mahâ Kosala, with Ratanpur for its capital. In all the inscriptions of the Kulachuris of Chedi that I have yet seen, the date is simply recorded as *Samvat* without any distinctive name; but, from the synchronisms which I have already brought forward, there can be no doubt that the whole of their inscriptions are dated in the Samvat which bears their names.[1]

IV.—JABALPUR INSCRIPTION.

This important inscription was engraved on two plates of copper, each 18 by 12 inches. The plates were transferred to the Nâgpur Museum, where a Nâgari transcript was made by some one imperfectly acquainted with the characters. The first plate is still in the Museum; but the second, which contained both the date and the name of the reigning prince, has been stolen.[2] This is the more unfortunate, as both the date and the king's name beyond all doubt have been wrongly rendered in the Nâgari transcript. The latter is given as *Sri Maheṣa Karna*, which I can correct to *Sri mad Gaya Karna*; but the date I am unable to restore. It is given in the transcript as Samvat 529; and is quoted by Mr. Grant as Samvat 528, with a suspicion that it may have been wrongly read. Now Gaya Karna's grandfather, Karna Deva, began to reign in the year 792 of the Chedi Samvat; and Gaya Karna himself, who was reigning in 902 of the same era, had been succeeded by his son, Nara Sinha Deva, before 907. The three generations had, therefore, just covered one whole century; and Gaya Karna's reign must be fixed from about

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[1] Sir William Sleeman, however, states that "there is a stone inscribed by Rájá Karna on the dedication of a temple at Jabalpur dated Samvat 943." Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, VI, 625, note. If the figures have been read correctly, the date must be reckoned in the Saka era, which would make 943 x 78=1021 A. D. for Rájá Karna.

[2] The same fatality has attended many of the inscribed copper-plates in the Museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

870 to 903 of the Chedi Samvat. Perhaps 879 was the actual date on the plate.

In the first plate we have the usual genealogy of the Kulachuri kings of Chedi from Yuvarájá Deva, through Kokalla [whose name was read as *Kokasya*], Gânggeya Deva, Karna Deva, and Yaṣa Karna Deva, the father of Gáyá Karna Deva. The last words on this plate are—

Parama bhaṭṭáraka Mahárájádhirája
parameswara Sri Vama Deva pá—

which are continued in the transcript of the second plate.—

dánudhyáta[1] *parama bhaṭṭáraka Mahárajádhirája Maheswara parama maheswara trikalingádhipati nija bhujo parjistáswapati:, gajapati, narapati rájya triyádhipati Sri mad.* *GAYA-KARNA-DEVA.*

The whole of this string of titles is applied in the Kumbhi copper-plates to *Vijaya Sinha Deva,* and I may add that the first eleven *slokas* of the Kumbhi plates are word for word the same as the first eleven *slokas* of the Jabalpur plates. In these, however, we have a much longer account of Yaṣa Karna, besides an additional *sloka* given to Karna Deva.

Of Gânggeya Deva, it is said that he died at the foot of the banian tree [the famous akshay baṭ] at Prayâga, along with 150 of his wives.[2] His son Karna Deva built a fort named Karna Meru, from which flowed the river Karnavati (the Kiyan or Cain river). His son was Yaṣa Karna Deva, at whose accession the Ránis of Hûna race were joyful. He worshipped Bhimeswara Deva. His son was Rájá Gaya Karna, who, with his queen, his son, his minister, his general, his family priest, his treasurer (and several other officials), having bathed in the Narmadâ at the time of the Makar-Sankrânt on Monday, the 10th of the waning moon of Mâgh in the Samvat year * * *, made a grant of the village of Patinkar in the division of Jâûli-patan (the present Jabalpur) to a Brahman named Hari Ṣarman, the son of Nâgo and grandson of Bhava.

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[1] Read as *pádánuvira.*

[2] The original words, as copied by the Nagpur Pandit are—" *prapte Prayága vata mula nevesa* valla, Sarddham satena *grihinibhira mutra mukti.* I presume that it must have been a passage similar to this which Wilford had before him in the Karna Deva inscription, and which he translated as "he died in a loathsome dungeon." I suppose that he may have read *garhini* instead of *grihini.*

V.—YASAH-KARNA INSCRIPTION.

This inscription on copper was first published by Professor Hall, with a short abstract of its contents, which contains all that is worth preserving[1]—

"We are here told," he says, "that in Anno Vikr. 1177, corresponding to A. D. 1120, a transfer of landed interest was made in presence of King Govinda Chandra of Kanauj, and his court. The property that exchanged hands, the village of Karanda, and the *talla* of Karanda, in the *pattali* of Antarâla, passed from the possession of Bhattâraka Rudrasiva, a royal chaplain, into that of the Thakkur Vasishtha. Rudrasiva, it is stated, was invested with his estate by Raja Yasahkarna. It can scarcely be questioned that this was the ruler of Chedi, and how could the king of Kanauj have had authority, save as the result of conquest, over soil which was once under his control?"

Professor Hall is, no doubt, right in identifying this Raja Yasahkarna with the king of Chedi, as the two kingdoms of Kanauj and Chedi were conterminous for a long distance, somewhere about the latitude of Rewa. As the grant is said to have been made to the very person who transfers it, we have a limit to the period by which Yasahkarna's grant must have preceded its transfer. It may be accepted, I think, as quite certain, that Rudrasiva, the family priest, was not under 30 years of age when he received the grant, and as very nearly certain that he was not over 60 years when he made the transfer. Raja Yasahkarna of Chedi must therefore have been reigning within 30 years of A. D. 1120, or in A. D. 1090, which agrees with the period which I have already assigned to him on other evidence, from A. D. 1070 to 1100.

The district of Antarâla, in which Karanda was situated, I believe to be the country immediately to the east of Rewa, or the "included space" [Antarâla], lying between the Kaimur hills on the south, and the nameless range which bounds the right bank of the Tons river. This valley is conterminous with the Kantit district of Mirzapur, which must always have belonged to the Râthors of Kanauj. The Antarâla here mentioned is, perhaps, the same district as the *Antarapatta* of Raja Hastin's inscription, as the country about Rewa must almost certainly have formed part of his dominions.

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[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal,—XXXI,—p. 124.

VI.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, which is only $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 13 inches, is engraved on a light-green stone. The letters are small, and are generally in good order. It mentions Gaya Karna as the reigning king, and his son Nara Sinha Deva as the Yuva Raja, or heir apparent. I read the date as 902 of the Chedi Samvat. The word *ṣat* is spelt with the wrong *s*, but as it is preceded by *nava*, "nine," and is followed by the name of the month and day, there can be no doubt that it is intended for *ṣat*, or "hundred."

The inscription simply records that in the time of Raja Gaya Karna Deva, and his son Nara Sinha Deva, the Yuva Raja, a certain Brahman, named Bhava-brahma, built a temple to Mahâdeva; and that Prithivi-dhara, the son of Dharanidhara composed the inscription. The date is discussed in another place. I read it as Wednesday (Budhe), the 1st of Jyeshtha Sudi, Samvat 902 (of the Chedi era).

VII.—BHERA-GHAT INSCRIPTION.

We are fortunate in having a complete translation of this inscription by the competent pen of Professor Hall.[1] It is dated in the year 907 of the Chedi Samvat, and records the building of a temple to Siva under the name of *Indu Mauli*, or "Moon-crested," under the name of Vaidyanâtha, together with a *matha*, or cloister, and a *vyakhânasâla*, or "hall of learning," with gardens, attached to the temple. I have already discussed the probability of this temple being the present Chaunsat Jogini of Bhera Ghât. I have also a strong suspicion that the name of *Bhera Ghât* may have been derived from that of *Vaidyanâtha*. In speaking of the bathing place, the name would certainly have been shortened, by the omission of *nâtha*, to *Baidya-Ghât* which might easily have been corrupted to the present form of Bhera, or Bheda Ghât. Queen Alhanâ Devi, the builder, was the widowed queen of Gaya Karna Deva. Her father was Raja Vijaya Sinha, Ruler of Mewâr, who married Syâmalâ Devi, the daughter of Udayâditya, king of Mâlwa. She was therefore a direct representative of two of the most fâmous royal families of mediæval India, the Gobhilas of Mewâr and the Pramâras of Mâlwa. Her marriage with Gaya Karna shows

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[1] American Oriental Society's Journal,—VI,—p. 509.

that the Kulachuris of Chedi were of equal social rank with the highest Rajput races.

Two villages are mentioned as having been made over for the maintenance of the temple. One named *Undi* in the canton of Jâüli, is most probably the present village of *Undia*, five miles to the south-south-west of Bhera Ghât. There is, however, another village named *Emteea* in the map, which is only one mile and a half to the south-east of Bhera Ghât, which may perhaps dispute the claim of Undia. The second village called *Makarapataka*, situated at the base of the hills to the south of the Narmodâ, I have failed to identify.

As this inscription relates the genealogy of the Kulachuris from Kokalla downwards, and is mainly devoted to an account of their exploits and marriages, I will here give the full translation made by Professor Hall:—

"*Om! Glory to Siva!*

"1. May the lunar digit on the brow of the Moon-bedecked, which digit, though but one and individual, yet even in the absence of evening, constantly begets the conviction, as pertains to the opulent in attendants, that it is the second, augment your prosperity, and preserve it unimpaired!

"2. May the ranges of sacred watering-booths—chafed by the creeping and leaping waves of the celestial river which meanders on the head of Siva—protect you. Is it lines of white lotuses that present themselves? Or divisions of the moon? Or germs of virtuous deeds? Or else, the sloughs of serpents? Or, again, eruptions of ashes? Thus are they made the subject of speculation by the immortals.

"3. That which is a pure pervading element; that by whose revolutions the earth is illuminated; that which imparts happiness to the eyes of the world; that which is the cause of diversity among savors and the like, whose inhesion is in the terrene; that which is a receptacle surcharged with odor; he that sacrifices; that which is absolutely cold; and that which is tactile, but devoid of color: may Siva, by virtue of these material forms, defend you.

"4. May Nilakantha—exciting, by the display of his javelin and battle-axe, affection in his votaries; the smeared with camphor; and exultant in his dance—confer on you all objects of desire.

"5. May the Elephant-faced—counterfeiting ivory whiter than the jessamin, in bearing a lunar fragment potent to dispel the darkness of multitudinous impediments, and free from the smallest stain—compassionately accord to you supreme felicity.

6. "May Saraswati—practising, with manifold elocution, all her devices; and by employing though but the minutest rudiment of whose blandishments, men inspire, in assemblies, the highest reverence—support you.

7. "In the lunar line there was a sovereign, by name Arjuna: possessor of a thousand arms; a fire by night and day, in subduing the hearts, one after another, of all dwellers in the three worlds; by his effulgence putting contempt on other monarchs; and, by the recollection of whom, things long ago lost, or taken by thieves, are even to this day recovered.

8. "Among his descendants arose Kakalla Deva, a famous lord of earth, whose story, though most wonderful, is yet not mythical, wearing a majestic aspect, and whose name, invoked, was the sole resort that produced joy to the triple universe.

9. "From him sprung King Gângeya Deva, who, by the discomfiture of hostile princes, sustaining huge mountains of pride, acquired infinite distinction, and who, an all-bestowing tree to suppliants, as making Mount Meru unworthy of similitude, placed this earth, though lying below, above elysium, and rendered it a fit habitation for the gods.

10. "The vine of whose renown—a vine sprinkled with the nectar of meritorious achievements, and promotive of pure excellence—expanded itself over the entire pavilion of the cosmic egg.

11. "Of him—who replenished with gold the ocean of importunities of his crowd of petitioners; and of coveted celebrity—was born King Karna.

12. "Which king, unprecedented in splendour, maintaining the full energy of heroism, the Pândya discontinued violence; the Murala renounced all inclination of arrogance; the Kanga negotiated an audience; the Vanga, with the Kalingas, was solicitous to do thereafter; the Kîra, like a parrot, stayed in his house, as a cage, and the Hûna dismissed his elation.

13. "Princes at variance with him; whose consorts severally thus protested: 'This whole country, which he enjoys in consequence of the defeat of our lords; will we, as it were, diminish to view: for that, by the tears springing from our eyes, we have made great the seas; and we have, moreover, aggrandized them by the surpassing water of our jewels.'

14. "From him the illustrious Yasah Karna derived his honorable origin: who lighted up the circuit of the quarters with the moon of the fame which accrued to him from devastating Chanpâ-ranya; whose heart was free from crookedness; pre-eminent esteem, enriched them by his munificence.

15. "From him a treasure of the perfection of all virtues, inscrutable, sprung King Gaya Karna Deva; the very sun of whose grandeur availed to bring about the uprising of a sea of desolation to the wives of his foes.

16. "A monarch was he, who, in brightness of complexion, outrivalled orpiment; who was a cornucopia of probity, a garland of diffusive merits, the one destroyer of the hordes of his enemies, of unsullied splendour in battle, restraining the wicked by his beaming glory, and whose sword was of the keenest.

"The race of the sons of Gobhila is of note among the nations. Therein was born King Hansapâla; by whose thronging armaments equipped with gallantry, and irresistible the marshalled squadrons of all combined antagonists were humiliated.

18. "The issue of his body was the fortunate King Vairisinha; whose feet were tinged by the reflection of the head-gems in the frontlets of all tributary chieftains, prostrate in act of fealty, a repository of faultless wisdom, but not, indeed, an asylum to imperious suitors.

19. "He, Vairisinha, moreover, consigned the kinsmen of his adversaries to the recesses of deep caverns, and entering in person, caused that their women neglected their tresses altogether.

20. "Of him was born King Vijayasinha; the good fortune of whose foes was overborne by the pressure of his comeliness and chivalry deserving the congratulations of all the people; and the moon of whose glory was waxing in the world continually.

21. "Syamalâ Devi, the beauteous daughter of Udayâditya, supreme ruler of the realm of Malâva, was his consort; a talisman of bountiful courses, and lauded for her elegance.

22. "Of him King Vijayasinha, equal to the custody of the world, was borne by her, Alhanâ Devi; in presentment the spotless, fluttering pennon of her long descended lineage: as the wife of Sankara had her origin from the Master of mountains, by Mena, and as the spouse of Sûbhrabhânu sprang from Daksha, creator of the human family by Vêrinî.

23. "King Gaya Karna, celebrating nuptial rites with her, bestowed on her the highest affection; even as Sânkara on Siva.

24. "She a mansion of erotic sentiment, the pinnacle-ball of accomplishments, a wreath of loveliness, the emporium of excellencies, brought forth, by King Gaya Karna, a son, King Narasinha Deva.

25. "Of him, the prosperous King Narasinha Deva, may the refulgent moon of glory as it were imbue the walls of the directions with grateful store of refreshing nectar. And may the earth, obtaining in him a fitting protector, thus enjoy content, as that of foregone mighty monarchs it shall take no slightest thought.

26. "May his younger brother Jayasinha Deva in wondrous wise doing honor to his brother, the first-born; like as far Rama regard was had by Saumitri—be eminently victorious; who strong-armed, defeated his enemies' hosts, strepitant as thundering clouds, teeming with strategy, and comprising warriors of most stalworth frames. Bravo!

27. "That lady the open-handed Alhanâ Devi, mother of the happy Narasinha Deva, occasioned this sanctuary of Indumauli to be erected, and this cloister, with its admirable pavement.

28. "The same by the agency of her commissioners constructed this hall of learning and line of gardens, wanting for nothing, in two ranges attached to the temple of Sâmbhu.

29. "To this divinity, entitled Vaidyanâtha, the queen—to the end that her good deeds might be blazoned set—apart the village known by the name of Undî in the canton of Jâüli, with all the dues exigible therefrom.

30. "In like manner she appropriated another village, called Makarapâtaka, situated at the base of the hills, on the south bank of Narmadâ.

31. "Let the auspicious Rudrarâsi, a Pâsûpata ascetic, of the Lâta race, and his heirs spiritual, fitly administer the duties of the charge of this establishment, till Sâmbhu shall mete out the duration of the spheres.

32. "In the family of Maunin connected with three branches, those of Bhârgava, Vaitahavya, and Savetasa was born of Maheshwara so called one Dharanidhara by name; a person of worship, repute, and good presence.

33. "By whom adorned with seemly radiance as his frontlet, replete with exuberance of exalted tenderness, and whose gratifying condition long endured the three worlds were, so to speak, irradiated.

34. "His son Prithvidhara—who has scanned the further shore of the profound main of all science, and whose concourse of disciples has conquered scholastically the round of quarters—transcribed this encomium.

35. "His Prithwidhara's younger brother, of singular skill among such as are conversant in logic, the learned Sâsidhara, as was his appellation, composed this memorial.

36. "All this the artificer called Pîthe, proficient in the ordinance of Viswakarman, has regulated, as Prithu disposed the earth.

37. "Mahidhara, son of the chief craftsman, Bâlasinha, wrought this stone with characters; as the firmament is bestrewn with stars, Sunday, the 11th day of the light fortnight of Mârga, in the year 907."

VIII.—BHARHUT INSCRIPTION.

This inscription is valuable, as showing that the rule of the Kulachuri Kings extended certainly as far north as Bharhut, about half-way between Jabalpur and Allahabad. The first four lines of the inscription give the titles of Narasinha Deva in exactly the same words as are applied to his father Gaya Karna Deva on the Jabalpur copper plates, and to his nephew Vijaya Sinha on the Kumbhi copper-plates.[1] The following is the text of the record which contains several mistakes such as *battaraka* and *Buddhe* for *bhattaraka* and *Budhe*, and others, which show that the inscriber was probably ignorant as well as careless.

1.—Swasti Sri parma bhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâdhirâj parameswra Sri
2.—Vâma-deva pâdânuddhyâta parama baṭṭaraka mahâ mahârâjâdheraja para
3 —meswara para maheswra Tri-Kalingâdhipati nija bhujo parjita A
4.—Swapati, Gajapati, Narapati, raja triyâdhipati Srimân NARA
5.—SINHA-DEVA charanâh Vadyavâ grâmakasya mahârâ
6.—ja-putra Sri KESAVADITYA putra BALLALA DEVA kasya bahah
7.—Samvat 909 Srâvana Sudi 5 Buddhe.

In a separate line below are the words;

Râüt Sri Ballâla Deva. The record was engraved by order of Prince Ballâla Deva, the son of Kesavâditya and grandson of Rajâ Nara-Sinha Deva.

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, VIII, 483.

IX.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription is now deposited in the Nâgpur Museum. It measures 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 10 inches, and contains 27 lines of closely packed letters, but the whole is so weather-worn as to be in many parts quite illegible, and in others very difficult to decipher. It was seen by Professor Hall in Jabalpur, who gives the following account of it:[1]—

"When passing through the station of Jabalpur in February of last year [1858], I found in the museum at that place a somewhat weather-worn inscription, hitherto inedited, of the same class as those which precede. Unhappily I had neither leisure nor health to take a copy of it. The date it bears is Samvat 926."

Samvat Shaḍvinsatyuttara navasatâbdepi 926.

Its poet was Ṣasihara, son of Dharanidhara; and it makes mention of Nâmadeva, son of Mahidhora, as a *Sutradhára*. Three of these names we have met with in the record of 907. At the foot of the stone, the ensuing benediction, in the Arya measure, is legible without difficulty.

Yâvat sûryâchandran yâtâyâtaṁ nabhastle tapatah tâvat kîrtanametat kîrtyai kartuh sthiraṁ chuyât.

"As long as the sun and moon, going and returniug, shall shine in the firmament, so long may this eulogy endure, *conducing* to the renown of the doer *of the transaction herein memorialized.*"

I have found the name of *Jaya Sinha Deva* in both the 24th and 25th lines, and the tribal name of *Kulachuri-Kula* in the middle of the 13th line. A more minute examination would no doubt reveal other names of the rulers of Chedi, but the result would hardly repay the trouble.

X.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

Both the discovery and the translation of this short inscription are due to Professor Hall.[2] It is dated in the year 928 [of the Chedi Samvat] while Nara Sinha Deva was still reigning. The record is so short that I may give its translation in full—

1.—"We render homage to the supreme Brahmâ, who is intellect and felicity; adored by Brahmâ and the other inferior deities; Mahâdeva, god of gods, parent of the world.

2.—"The son of the fortunate King Gayâ Karna, the auspicious King Nara Sinha Deva, has conquered the earth. May the fortunate Jaya Sinha Deva, his younger brother, long be triumphant.

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[1] American Oriental Society's Journal, VI, 533.

[2] American Oriental Society's Journal, VI, 513.

3.—"Keşava, son of the late Aladeva Astaka, the Brahman so called, procured this temple of Iswara to be constructed.

"In the year 928. Sunday, the 6th day of the light fortnight of Srâvaṇa; *the moon being in the asterism* Hasta.

"Family name of Keşava the collector Kâtyâna; his residence, the village of Sikha, in Mâlavaka."

This inscription is valuable for its date, as we learn from another inscription dated in S. 932, that both Nara Sinha and his brother Jaya Sinha had died in the short interval of four years. But that Jaya outlived his brother and reigned for a brief period, we learn from the following inscription.

XI.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

This nearly perfect inscription is 3 feet 6 inches long by 1 foot 8 inches broad, and contains 21 lines. It is unfortunately broken right across near the middle, but the fracture is so clean that very few, if any, of the letters are lost. It opens with the usual invocation to Şiva and ends with the words *Kritastya jyateh.* The genealogy opens with the descent of the *Kulachuri* kings from Atri, but the details begin with Yuva Râja Deva, after whom follow Kokalla, Gângeya Deva, Karna Deva, Yaşah Karna, Gayâ Karna, Nara Sinha and his brother Jaya Sinha. The inscription was recorded during the reign of Jaya Sinha, who is called *Srimân Mahitrij Jaya Sinha Deva* in one place and *Kshitipati* and *Nripati* in others. The genealogy of *Alhanâ Devi*, the queen of Gayâ Karna, is the same as that recorded in the Bhera Ghât inscription; but the wording is somewhat different. In that record her mother Şyâmala Devi is called the daughter of Udayâditya, king of Mâlava,

Mâlavamaṇḍalâdhinâthodayâditya-sutâ,

while in the present inscription she is said to be the "daughter of Udayâditya, lord of Dhâra,"

Dhârâdhişodayâditya-sutâ.

We thus learn that Dhâra, and not Ujain, was the capital of Udayâditya.

I cannot find any date, nor do I see the name of Vijaya Sinha Deva, the son of Jaya Sinha, who, as we know from the Kumbhi inscription, had already succeeded his father in the year 932 of the Chedi era. The date of the present record is therefore fixed between the narrow limits of the four years 928 to 932.

XII.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, on a dark reddish-brown stone, is in two pieces, measuring 2 feet 4 inches in breadth by 2 feet in height. But each piece is imperfect at the top, and on one side, what remains is in fair order, and consists of 25 lines, wanting at both beginning and end. I have, however, managed to make out that it was a record of Jaya Sinha Deva during his short reign, which was limited between the year 928, when his elder brother Nara Sinha was still reigning, and 932, when we know that his son Vijaya Sinha Deva had ascended the throne. I find the name of Sri Yasahka [rna Deva] in the 11th line; but that of Srimân Jaya [Sinha Deva] had already appeared in the 7th line; and in the 16th line he is distinctly entitled king [nripati];

Samara Sahasra Jayî Jaya Sinha Deva nripatirijayati.
Further, in the 18th line I find his son's name—

Jayastu Vijaya Sinha.

This record may therefore be placed about the year 930 of the Chedi Samvat.

XIII.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

The only notice of this inscription is due to Professor Hall.[1] He found two undeciphered inscriptions in the Jabalpur museum—

"But both too nearly worn out ever to be read in their entirety. The later, dated in the year 931 of an unknown era, exhibits the names of king Gayâ Karna, of Ṣaṣidhara, pandit and poet, and of the engraver Nâma Deva, of Mahidhara."

As I could not find any trace of this inscription at Jabalpur, I conclude that it must have been removed to the Nâgpur museum, where, however, I failed to find it.

XIV.—KUMBHI INSCRIPTION.

The text and translation of this inscription were first published in 1839; but the reading was so full of errors that its revision was happily undertaken by Professor Hall in 1862.[2] According to my information, the two copper-plates on

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1 Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1861, p. 323, note.
2 *See* Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VIII, pp. 483-488, and Vol. XXXI, p. 111.

which the inscription is engraved were found at Kochnâr, a small village $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Kumbhi, on the Heran or Hiranyavati river. They are said to have been a pair of small plates and to have been discovered by a Kurmi Zamindar when digging a *koh*, or grain-pit, outside his house. I heard also that a second pair of large copper-plates were found about 1865 by a Baisâkhi Kol. They had no ring or seal. It seems probable that the last pair were the Jabalpur plates which I have already described.

As the Kumbhi inscription is rather a long one, I gladly avail myself of Professor Hall's abstract, which contains all that is worth preserving for historical purposes.

"The inscription begins with a doxology to Vishnu; to the lotus of his navel; to Brahmâ, who originated therefrom; to Brahmâ's son Atri, and to the moon which emanated from one of Atri's eyes. From the moon, by a daughter of the sun, sprung Bodhana; and from him was born Purûravas, who had to wife Urvaśi and Earth. Among the descendants of Purûravas was Bharata. To him the Haihayas traced their origin; and from these came Kârtavîrya, the founder of the family of Kulachuri. To this family belonged the last dynasty that dominated over Chedi."

"Beginning with Yuvarâja, father of Kokalla, and ending with Ajaya Sinha, heir-apparent, the line of kings recorded in the inscription is so well known that their names need not be repeated. Of their family we are here furnished with a few facts, additional to those which I have detailed on former occasions. Gângeya died at Prayâga or Allahabad, and we are led to infer that his wives, amounting in round numbers to a hundred, underwent cremation with the mortal remains of their lord. Karna built the city of Karnavati. The consort of Gayâkarṇa or Gayakarṇa was Alhanâ; and that of Vijaya Sinha was Gosalâ. The appellations of these two ladies have hitherto been misrepresented.

"A crown-village Choralâyi, in the pattalâ of Sambalâ, is transferred by the relique under notice, a legal document. The donor is Gosalâ, on the part of her son Ajaya Sinha, a minor. The donee is a learned Brahman, one Sidha, son of Chhiktû, son of Sûlhana, son of Janârdan. Six royal functionaries are enumerated in the grant; and the official designations are added of three more whose names are not specified.

"The present inscription is, by one year, the latest, as yet brought to light, published by the Haihaya rulers in Central India. We learn from it, that the capital of those potentates, from the very first, was Tripurî; and that their kingdom, so long as they are known to have possessed it, was called Chedi. We find it set forth that "in that Kulachuri family was a monarch, eminent among the just, His Majesty Yuvarâja,—a young lion in destroying odour-bearing elephants, *i. e.*, pride-blind kings,—who sanctified Tripurî, resembling the city of Purandara."

In the 23rd verse of this inscription we have the distinct announcement, that Jaya Sinha had succeeded his brother on the throne of Chedi—

Sri Jaya Sinha Deva nripati rájyabhishekam nripa.

Here we have not only the title of king (*nripa*), but a proof of his inauguration or coronation in the term '*abhisheka.*' The grant was made during the reign of his son Raja Vijaya Sinha in the year 932 of the Chedi Samvat, Prince Ajaya Sinha being the heir-apparent.

XV.—GOPALPUR INSCRIPTION.

The first notice of this inscription is also due to Professor Hall, who was informed that the tablet was broken in an attempt to remove it.[1] It is still at Gopâlpur, a village 2 miles to the south-east of Bhera Ghât, where my copies were taken. The stone is 4 feet 6 inches in length by 1 foot 9 inches in breadth, and contains 21 lines. It is very much injured in the lesser half, which forms the left side, and in the right half it is in many places weather-worn and indistinct. Professor Hall gives some portions of the text, on which he remarks—

"Here we have the names of Arjuna, the thousand-armed, of Kulachuri, Karna, Yaṣah, Karna, Jaya Sinha, Gosalâ, and Vijaya Sinha, and these names indicate that the inscription is Chedian, and of nearly the same date with that of the inscription printed at large from Kumbhi."

It has no date, as noticed by Professor Hall; but the name of *Sri Vijaya Sinha Deva Nripa*, which occurs in the 16th line, shows that it cannot be earlier than the year 932 of the Chedi era.

XVI.—TEWAR INSCRIPTION.

This is only a fragment of an inscription on a dark-green stone, found at one of the stone-cutter's houses in Tewar. It is only 10 inches long and 8 inches broad, with parts of eleven lines of inscription, including a part of the first line. It is broken on both sides. I notice it here, because some one hereafter may chance to find other pieces, which would help to complete it. I see the name of Tripura in the 7th

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXXI, 113, and VIII, 483.

line, and of Sinhapura in the 8th line. I find also the name of Bhîma Pâla and of Mahâ Samudra in the 4th line. The characters are a little more than half inch in height, and of the square form usually found in the later inscriptions of Nara Sinha and his brother Jaya Sinha.

From all these inscriptions I have compiled the following genealogy of the Kulachuri Rajas of Chedi, beside which, for the sake of ready reference and comparison, I have arranged the genealogies of the kings of all the neighbouring countries, including the Râhtors of Kanauj, the Pramâras of Mâlwa, the Gobhilas of Mewâr, and the Chandels of Mahoba. On the left I have given the approximate dates at the rate of 25 years for each generation, and under each name I have placed the actual dates of the Christian era. In the three known instances of long reigns, those of Govinda Râthor, Bhoja Pramâra, and Dhanga Chandella, there is some discrepancy when compared with the approximate dates, but it will be seen that these are speedily rectified in succeeding generations.

Approximate dates by generations.	Kings of Kanauj.	Pramâras of Mâlwa.	Gobhilas of Mâwar.	Kulachuris of Chedi.	Chandellas of Mahoba.
A. D.					
875	Bhoja Deva I. ...	...	...		
900	Mahendra Pâla Deva.	Krishna ...	...	Kokalla I ...	Râhila.
				Mugdhatunga ...	Harsha.
925	Bhoja Deva II ...	Vairi Sinha ...			
950	Vinayak Pâla Deva.	Siyaka ...	...	Yuvaraja ...	Yaso Varma.
975	...	Vâkpati ...	...	Lakshmana ...	Dhanga.
1000	...	bhoja ...	...	Yuvaraja ...	Gonda.
1025	...	Udayâditya ...	Hansa Pâla ...	Kokalla II ...	Vidyâdhara.
			Vairi Sinha ...	Gângeya Deva ...	Vijaya.
	Rahtors.				
1050	...	Syâmala Devi ...	Vijaya Sinha.	Karna Deva ...	Kirtti Varmma.
1075	Chandra Deva ...	...	Alhanâ Devi ...	Yasah Karna ...	Sallakshana.
1100	Madana Pâla ...	...	Married ×	Gaya Karna ...	Jaya Varmma.
1125	Govinda Chandra...	...	Nara Sinha Deva.	Jaya Sinha Deva ...	Prithvi Varmma.
1150	Vijaya Chandra ...	...	...	Vijaya S. D. ...	Madana Varmma.
1175	Jaya Chandra ...	...	...	Ajaya S. D. ...	Paramârdi Deva.
1200	...	...	...	...	...

A comparison of this list with that previously given of the intermarriages between the Kulachuris and Râshtrakutas will most fully establish the approximate dates which I

have assigned to the Kulachuri kings. Perhaps a somewhat higher rate than 25 years per generation might be allowed; but after a rather extensive scrutiny I have found that 25 years is as nearly as possible the exact average of an Indian generation. Out of 16 families, counting 141 generations, the total duration was 3,442 years, which gives an average of 24·41 years to each generation. The means vary from 20·25 years to 28·75 years. Occasionally there may be three or four long generations, as amongst the Mughals from Akbar's accession in 1556 to Aurangzeb's death in 1707, there were four generations, covering 151 years, which gives the very high average of 37¾ years to a generation. But these four reigns were very exceptional, as Akbar was only 13 years old when he ascended the throne, and Aurangzeb was nearly 90 years old when he died, and the true average was obtained after the next 12 years, when two more generations had disappeared, so that six generations had passed away in 163 years, giving only 27 years to each. I am therefore satisfied that the rate of 25 years is a very near average whenever the number of generations exceeds five or six.

The following notes regarding the kings of Chedi are taken partly from their own inscriptions, and partly from those of the neighbouring princes, with whom they fought or formed alliances. The information thus obtained is not very extensive, but it covers a long period of the history of Central India, of which little or nothing was previously known. It is, however, both exact and trustworthy, two rare qualities in early Indian history.

The *Kulachuris*, or *Kalachuris*, for the name is written both ways, claim to be descended from the Moon through Atri and Yadu. They are, therefore, Somvansi Yâdavas. From Yadu was descended Haihaya, who gave his name to the Haihayas, and from him Kârtavirya, who in every inscription is stated to be the founder of the *Kulachuri* family. The origin of this name is quite unknown; but it is undoubtedly old, as it is found in an inscription of the Châlukyas as early as the reign of Mangala, or Mangalisa, the son of Pulakesi before A. D. 550. This king boasts of having overcome Buddha Raja, the son of Ṣankaragana. The latter name is a rare one, and the only other examples of it known to me are in the Kulachuri family. But as a later inscription of the Châlukyas describes the fierce Mangalisa as "ravishing the power of the Kulachuris like a

thunderbolt," there can be little doubt that the two names of Ṣankaragana and Buddha belong to the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi. In a third inscription the Châlukyas claim to have acquired the kingdom of the princes of the Kulachuri dynasty.

But the kingdom of the Kulachuris must have been established at least three centuries before the time of Mangalisa Châlukya, as the dates of their inscriptions all refer to a period close to A. D. 249 as the initial point of the *Kulachuri*, or *Chedi, Samvat*. The inscription of Mangalisa is dated at full length, but the numeral word is unfortunately doubtful. It was read as *chahatawa* by General Legrand Jacob, but I think it must be intended for *Chaturtha Samvatsara*, the 4th year, which would be about A. D. 533. We thus get a glimps of the Kulachuris just three centuries after their first establishment, and then all becomes dark again for about three centuries more, when Kokalla Deva I. appears upon the scene. But from his time until the Muhammadan conquest, a period of nearly four hundred years, we have a very complete genealogy of the family.

1.—*Kokalla Deva I.* His name is placed at the head of the detailed genealogy in both the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions. In the latter he is said to have married Nanda Devi Chandellâ; and in both he is stated to have warred with Bhoja Deva, who is called a Raja of the West. The Bilhari stone also makes him war with Krishna Raja in the South.[1] The former prince I have identified with Bhoja Deva I. of Kanauj, whose date ranges from A. D. 860 to 900. His earliest inscription, which is engraved on a temple pillar in the great fort of Deogarh near Chanderi, is dated in Samvat 919, in figures only, and also in Saka Kâla 784, both in words and in figures. Both dates correspond with A. D. 862. His next inscription is engraved inside a rock temple in the fort of Gwaliar. It is dated in Samvat 933 both in words and figures, equivalent to A. D. 876.[2] A third inscription is at Pahewa, or Prithudaka, to the west of Thanesar. This is dated in the year 276, which, as Bhoja was a king of Kanauj, I have referred to the era of Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj beginning with 607 A. D. The date of this inscription will therefore be 882 A. D. A fourth inscrip-

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXX, p. 321 and p. 325, sloka 17.
[2] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXXI, 398.

tion of his son Mahendra Pâla Deva, on a copper-plate found at Benares, bears the date of S. 315, which referred to the Harsha era, places Mahendra in A. D. 921, and his father Bhoja about A. D. 900.

Bhoja Raja is also mentioned in the Raja Tarangini as having overrun the country of Thakkiya in the Panjâb about the beginning of the reign of Sankara Varmma of Kashmir—883 to 901 A. D. Thakkiya is no doubt the same district as the *Táki* of Hwen Thsang, close to Sangala in the Panjâb, and the Tâkiya of the Sindh chronicles, which was visited by Jaisiya, son of Dâhir, on his way from Sindh to Kashmir. As lord of the Eastern Panjâb and the district of Thanesar, Bhoja Deva of Kanauj was fully entitled to be styled lord of the West. But I believe that *the west* in the notice of Kokalla's fight with Bhoja refers simply to the direction from which Bhoja advanced. The fort of Deogarh near Chanderi, in which was found Bhoja's inscription of A. D. 862, lies 150 miles to the north-west of Tewar or Tripura. In this direction therefore the two kings may have come into conflict at any time between A. D. 860 and 900.

With regard to Krishna Raja of the south, I have already noted that he must be identified with Krishna II. Râshtrakuta, who is recorded in another inscription to have married Mahâdevi, the daughter of Kokalla.[1] This is shown conclusively in the first table giving the intermarriages of the Kulachuris and Râshtrakutas. Now, Krishna's date can be fixed with some certainty to the period between 870 and 890 A. D. by the ascertained dates of the inscriptions of Govinda Raja and Amogha Varsha II. The first was his great-grandfather, whose date is A. D. 808; the second was his great-grandson whose date is A. D. 933. The interval is 125 years, which gives nearly 21 years to each prince, and assigns Krishna to the period between 871 and 892 A. D.

The reign of Kokalla I. as derived from the dates of his contemporaries Bhoja and Krishna, may therefore be fixed with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A. D.

2.—*Mugdhatunga* is the name of Kokalla's son and successor in the Bilhari inscription; but in the Benares copper-plate he is called Prasiddha Dhavala. The two names, however, must belong to the same person, as in each record he is

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[1] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, IV, 97.

made the grandfather of Lakshmana, and the great-grandfather of Ṣankaragana and Yuvarâja. The exploit related of Mugdhatunga is that "he wrested Pâli from the lord of Kosala." The approximate date of his reign will be A. D. 900 to 925. To Mugdhatunga's reign must be assigned the loss of the two districts of Râlâ and Rodapâdi, as recorded in an inscription at Bhilsa discovered by Professor Hall, who gives the following abstract of its contents :—

"Kauṇḍinya, entitled Vâchaspati, was premier of a Raja Krishna, and dwelt on the Vetravati. After discomfiting the lord of Chedi by slaying a *Sabara*, named Sinha, probably the Chedian generalissimo, he established the district of Râlâ, and Rodapâdi, which also seems to denominate a district."

The home of the minister on the Vetravati, or Betwa River, proves that the country was Mâlwa, and that the king was Krishna Pramâra. As he was the great-grandfather of Vâkpati Pramâra, whose known dates are A. D. 974 and 993, his own date must be fixed approximately about 75 years earlier, or in A. D. 900 to 925, which will make him a contemporary of Mugdhatunga. Other children of Kokalla were Ṣankaragana, Arjuna, and Mahâdevi. But as the first is distinctly called Raja of Chedi, he was probably the elder son, who left no male issue, and was thus succeeded by his younger brother Mugdhatunga.

3.—*Keyúravarsha* in the Bilhari inscription is the son and successor of Mugdhatunga. In the Benares plate, however, the grandson of Kokalla is called *Bála Harsha;* but this is very probably the same name imperfectly deciphered. The queen of this prince was *Nahalá* of the Chalukya family. She erected a temple to Ṣiva, and gave for its support several villages, of which one named *Pondi* still exists 4 miles to the north-west of Bilhari. A second village named Khailapâṭaka is most probably now represented by Khailwâra, 6 miles east-north-east of Bilhari. The identification of these two villages in such close neighbourhood to Bilhari is sufficient to prove that the inscription transcribed by Professor Hall was actually brought from Bilhari, as he was informed. The reign of Keyura Varsha must be assigned approximately to A. D. 925 to 950. According to the Benares plate Yuva Râja was the younger brother of Bâla Harsha, and Lakshmana was his son. This is the Yuva Râja whose daughter Kandakâ Devi was married to Amogha Varsha I. Râshtrakuta, which agrees with the

genealogies, as both were descendants in the third generation from Kokalla I.

4.—*Lakshmaṇa* was the son and successor of Keyûravarsha, following the Bilhari inscription, but his nephew according to the Benares plate. His father Yuvarâja having died early, Lakshmaṇa is said to have conquered the Râja of Kosala, and to have invaded Orissa, from which he brought away a figure of the serpent Kâliya, which he consecrated to Ṣiva in the famous temple of Someswara, or Somanâtha in Surashtrâ, where he had previously dedicated a car. He is also stated to have appointed a holy person named Hṛidayaṣiva to the service of Queen Nohalâ's temple.

To Lakshmaṇa must be assigned the construction of the fiṇe large tank at Bilhari, named Lakshmaṇ Sâgar. The people of Bilhari also attribute the ruins of a palace to Râja Lakshmaṇa, who, as they informed me, lived 900 years ago. This would place him in A. D. 970, which agrees exactly with the approximate date of A. D. 950 to 975 which I have computed for him by the recorded generations of his dynasty.

According to one of the Châlukya inscriptions, Vikramâditya IV. married Vonthâ Devi, daughter of Lakshmaṇa, Râja of Chedi desa. Now, this king died in A. D. 973, which confirms the approximate date of 950 to 975 which I have assigned to Lakshmaṇa.

5.—*Yuvarâja*, according to both inscriptions above quoted, was the younger son of Lakshmaṇa, the elder being Sankaragana. The Bilhari inscription was recorded during the reign of Lakshmaṇa, but the later record from Benares gives the crown to Yuvarâja. As he was the father of Kokalla II. he is the same prince with whom so many of the later inscriptions begin their genealogies.

Amongst the inscriptions preserved in the great temple at Udaypur to the north of Bhilsa, there is one of Râja Bhoja Pramâra, which relates that Vâkpati, the uncle of Bhoja, "defeated Yuvarâja and took possession of Tripura." Now, Vâkpati's date is known to include A. D. 973 and 994, which is the very period, 975-1000, which I have already assigned to Yuvarâja by reckoning the generations of his own family.

6.—*Kokalla II.* was the son and successor of Yuvarâja. Nothing special is related of him. He was a great warrior, and the progress of his arms was only stopped on the shores of the four surrounding oceans. There is an inscription of

a Kokalla at Khajurâha which is dated in Samvat 1058 or A. D. 1001. It ends with the words *Sri Kokkalena*, and has the name of Kokkala also in the 17th and 18th lines, but I am unable to say whether it refers to Kokalla of Chedi. Its date, however, agrees exactly with the approximate period of that king, 1000 to 1025, as derived from the reckoning of generations of his family.

7.—*Gánggeya Deva* was the son and successor of Kokalla II. In the Kumbhi plates it is said that "to him was dear the abode at the root of the holy fig-tree at Prayâga." There he died, and his hundred wives became Satis. Wilford makes him die in a "loathsome prison;" but it is quite certain that there must be some mistake in this passage of Wilford's abstract of the Benares copper-plate. It is, of course, quite possible that Gânggeya may have been made captive by the Râthor Râja of Kanauj, and that he may have been imprisoned at Prayâga; but it is absolutely impossible that his own son Karna Deva should have recorded anything about a "loathsome dungeon." His hundred or hundred and fifty wives are a sufficient proof that he must have reigned for some time. By the genealogical reckoning his reign is fixed approximately at from A. D. 1025 to 1050. It is certain that he was reigning in A. D. 1030-31, as he is mentioned by name by Abu Rihân as the king of *Dáhal* [or Chedi]. The geographer, after mentioning Jajhaoti and Gwâliar and Kalinjar as lying to the south-east of Kanauj, adds—

"On arrive aussi à Dhâl, dont la capitale est Bitoura. Le prince de ce pays est maintenant Kankyou."[1]

In the original these names are *Dáhal*, *Pituri*, and *Gangeo*, which are clearly intended for Dâhal (or Chedi), Tipuri (or Tripuri, the capital of Chedi), and Gângeya Deva. To him we most probably owe the issue of the gold, silver and copper coins which bear a four-armed figure of Dûrgâ on the obverse, the well-known cognizance of the Kulachuris of Chedi, and on the reverse the inscription in bold characters *Sri mad Gánggeya Deva*. The name is a very uncommon one, and does not occur amongst any of the other contemporary dynasties which issued similar coins. The four-armed figure of Dûrgâ is a strong evidence in favour of the first issue of these coins by the Chedi Prince. There are similar coins of the Chandel Kings Kirtti Varmma, Hallakshana

[1] See Reinaud, Fragments Arabes et Persans, pp.—85,106.

Varmma, Jaya Varmma, and Madana Varmma, all of whom were posterior to Gânggeya. There are similar coins also of Govinda Chandra Râthor of Kanauj and of Kumâra Pâla and Ajaya Pâla of Gujarât, the successors of Siddh Ray; but they, too, were posterior to Gânggeya. It seems, however, difficult to explain why none of Gânggeya's successors should have followed his example.

8.—*Karṇa Deva* was the son and successor of Gânggeya Deva. The Benares copper-plate was engraved during his reign. It is dated in the year 793 of the Chedi Samvat, which, according to Wilford's account, was also the 2nd year of his reign. In the Bhera Ghat inscription it is said that during his riegn—

"The *Pândya* discontinued violence; the *Murala* renounced all inclination of arrogance; the *Kanga* negotiated an audience; the *Vanga*, with the *Kalingas*, was solicitous to do thereafter; the *Kira*, like a parrot, stayed in his house as a cage; and the Hûna dismissed his elation."

It will be observed that all these districts are at a long and safe distance from Chedi, and their conquest might be asserted with impunity. Nothing is here said of Râja Bhoja of Mâlwa, or of Bhima of Gujarât, with whom, as we learn from other sources, Karṇa really did come into contact. Bhima Deva reigned from A. D. 1022 to 1072; and Bhoja was reigning in 1021-1034, and 1042, and very probably for some time after 1050. In 1059 his successor Udayâditya was on the throne. The accession of Karṇa cannot therefore be placed later than 1050 A. D. Reckoning by the generations of his own family, his approximate date is 1050 to 1075. In the Jabalpur plate Karṇa is said to have conquered Bhimeswara, king of Andhra. This prince must be Bhima II., one of the Eastern Châlukyas.

In the 12th stanza of the Kumbhi plate it is recorded that Karṇa built the City of Karṇâvati. The same fact was also stated in the Benares plate. It has generally been supposed that the ruins of Karanbel must be the city of Karnavati; but I suspect that the true site was near Kâri Talai, where there are extensive ruins of an old city with numerous temples, which are still called *Karnpur*. No. 2 inscription of Râja Lakshmaṇa came from this place, and in the ruins there still stands a huge boar incarnation of Vishnu 8 feet long and 7 feet high. The temples are said to have been built by Râja Karn Dâhirya; and to the same king is attributed the foundation of Bilhari. Here tradition has preserved

the king's title very correctly, as *Ḍâhala* is a name of Tripura, and *Karṇa* of *Ḍâhala* is precisely the same thing as Karṇa of Chedi.

In the prologue to the curious drama called Prabodha Chandrodaya, which was performed before Kirtti Varmma Chandel, it is stated that "Vishnu having subdued the powerful *Karṇa* gave prosperity to the king Kirtti Varmma."[1] This defeat of Karṇa is also mentioned in one of the Kâlinjar inscriptions,[2] where the Chandel king is said to have conquered the southern country, and speedily "defeated the immense army of *Karṇa*." The same victory of Kirtti Varmma is no doubt mentioned in the Mhau inscription, although the name of the conquered king has been lost.[3] Lieutenant Price translates the passage as follows :—

"His son was Kirtti Varmma Deva, of good renown * * * as if virtue had descended in a human form, who vanquished * * * * * through the aid of his six allies."

Here I believe that we must supply the name of *Karṇa*, as this success would appear to have been the chief exploit of the Chandel King. Kirtti Varmma was, therefore, a contemporary of Karṇa of Chedi. Now, I have lately obtained an inscription of Kirtti Varmma, which is carved on the rock of the great fort of Deogarh, to the east of Chanderi. This is dated in the Samvat year 1154, or A. D. 1097. But as Jaya Varmma, the grandson of Kirtti Varmma, was reigning in Samvat 1173, or A. D. 1116, the year A. D. 1097 must have been near the close of Kirtti's reign. Some years ago, I had placed him approximately between the years A. D. 1065 and 1085 ; which I would now extend to 1100. Râja Karṇa of Chedi must, therefore, have reigned for sometime after 1065, which agrees with the date already assigned to him from A. D. 1050 to 1075 by the reckoning of the generations of his own family. As a contemporary of Bhoja Deva of Mâlwa, Bhima Deva of Gujarât and Kirtti Varmma of Mahoba, this date seems unexceptionable ; although neither the beginning nor the end of the period may be quite exact. There is, however, a notice of a Karṇa Râja who was defeated by Udayâditya of Mâlwa ; but both in the copy and in the translation of the inscription he is called Karṇa or Karṇâṭa.[4] But it is difficult

[1] In Dr. Taylor's translation the name of the king of Chedi is omitted ; but it is given in the original Sanskrit as Karṇa. *See* Archæological Survey of India, II, 453.
[2] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XVII, Part I, 319.
[3] Asiatic Researches of Bengal, XII, 357.
[4] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, I, 269.

to see exactly how the King of Mâlwa could have reached Karṇâṭa; and if he had got so far, it is equally difficult to see where he could have found a Karṇa Râja. In none of the lists of the Karṇâṭa, to which I have access, is there a single Karṇa. It seems therefore not improbable that we should read Râja Karṇa of Karṇâvaṭi, as Udayâditya of Mâlwa was not only his contemporary, but also his immediate neighbour on the east. Now, I posssess an inscription of Udayâditya dated in Samvat 1137, or A. D. 1080; while another inscription assigns to him the building of the magnificent Udaypur temple in Samvat 1116, or A. D. 1058—a period which coincides exactly with that which I have already assigned to the King of Chedi.

9. *Yaṣah Karṇa* was the son and successor of Karṇa Deva. No Chedian inscriptions have yet been found of this King; but he is mentioned by name in one of the Râthor copper-plate grants as having bestowed a village on Rudraṣiva, which was afterwards transferred by the recipient to another person in the presence of Govinda Chandra Râja of Kanauj, in the Samvat year 1177, or A. D. 1120.[1] I conclude therefore that he must have been reigning some 20 or 30 years previously, or between A. D. 1090 and 1100, which agrees with the date of 1075 to 1100 assigned to him by the reckoning of generations. It seems highly probable also that he was the reigning King of Chedi some time before A. D. 1104, when Lakshmidhara Râja of Mâlwa "conquered *Tripuri* in a campaign, resembling an ordinary excursion of pleasure.[2] As this exploit was recorded, along with many others, in the year 1104 A. D., it must have taken place some time previoulsy. As an eclipse of the sun is mentioned, the actual date of the inscription must be the 16th February 1105, towards the close of the Hindu year 1161.

10. *Gaya Karṇa* was the son and successor of Yaṣah Karṇa. Of him I possess a perfect inscription dated in the year 902 of the Chedi Samvat, when his son Nara Sinha Deva was Yuva Râja. This was close to the end of his reign, as his son had already succeeded him in 907. He married Alhanâ Devi, the grand-daughter of Udayâditya of Mâlwa [A. D. 1059 to 1080,] and the niece of Lakshmidhara (inscription 1104 A. D.) and of Nara Varmma, who died in A. D. 1133. Her marriage may, therefore, be placed sometime after 1100 A. D. His approximate date by reckoning the

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[1] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, I, 270.
[2] Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, 1862, p. 124.

generations is from 1100 to 112, A. D. The Jabalpur copper-plate, which was most probably dated in 879 of the Chedi Samvat, is the earliest record of his reign. The colossal Jain statue at Bahuriband was set up in his reign; but the date is, unfortunately, doubtful. The figure is called *Kanüa Deva*, which would appear to have been the name of one of Gaya Karṇa's sons, as there is a cenotaph of a royal prince on the bank of the great tank, with the following inscription on one of its pillars:—

Mahárája putra Sri Kanuha Deva.

Bahuriband was most probably his estate, and there he died and was burned. In after-times, when the Jain temple was destroyed, and the enshrined figure was forgotten, I suppose that it came to be looked upon as the statue of their popular prince, Kanüa Deva.

Of Gaya Karṇa the poet remarks that "he was a cornucopia of probity, a garland of diffusive merits," and that "the brightness of his complexion outrivalled orpiment."[1] To his queen, "open-handed Alhanâ-Devi," we perhaps owe the curious temple of Bhera Ghat.

11. *Nara Sinha Deva* was the son and successor of Gaya Karṇa. Of him we possess several inscriptions dated in the years 907, 909, 926 and 928 of the Chedi Samvat. He would appear to have left the actual government very much in the hands of his younger brother, Jaya Sinha Deva, who, in the very beginning of the reign, is described as eminently victorious:—"who, strong-armed, defeated his enemies' hosts." But the Hindu poets judiciously suppress all reverses, so that we learn nothing from the Chedian panegyrist regarding Madana Varmma Chandel, "from whose name even the King of Chedi, *vanquished* in fierce fight, ever quickly flees."[2] As Madana Varmma's inscriptions range from A. D. 1131 to 1163, he was, undoubtedly, a contemporary of Nara Sinha Deva, whose reign, reckoning by the genealogy of his family, extended from A. D. 1125 to 1150.

12. *Jaya Sinha Deva* would appear to have succeeded his brother on the throne of Chedi, as the Kumbhi plate speaks of his coronation (*abhisheka*). But his reign must have been limited to two or three years, as his sons' inscription is dated in the year 932.

13. *Vijaya Sinha Deva* was the son and successor of Jaya Sinha. The only dated inscription of this prince that

[1] American Oriental Society's Journal, VI, 510. Inscription translated by Professor Hall.
[2] Bengal Asiatic Society's Researches, XII. Translation of Mhow inscriptions by Lieutenant Price.

has yet been found is that quoted above with the Chedi Samvat year 932. But there are several undated records, of which the longest is the Gopâlpur inscription, No. 15, which mentions both Vijaya Sinha and his wife, Gosalâ Devi. As these inscriptions have not yet been translated, all that we know of this reign is, that there was a young prince named Ajaya Sinha as early as 932.

There are no less than eight inscriptions dated in the *Chedi Samvat* in which the name of the week-day is also given.[1] With this abundant aid I expected to have been able to fix the initial point of the era with absolute certainty; and I *believe* that I have succeeded in ascertaining the true starting-point in the year 249 A. D. But the result of my calculations has not proved so satisfactory as I expected, as only four out of the eight dates, or just one-half, agree precisely with the stated week-day. Three of the remaining four, however, agree within one day—an amount of deviation which is not uncommon in Hindu dates. One at least of the deviations is undoubtedly due to the original writer of the inscription, as we have two dates of the *same year* 928, which cannot be made to correspond with the stated week-days, either by the northern or the southern mode of reckoning. The following list shows the dates given in the inscriptions, with the week-days calculated from A. D. 249 as the initial point of the era, the year 250 A. D. being the year 1 of the Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat, the Hindu reckoning being invariably recorded in complete or expired years, in the same way as a person's age is reckoned.

Chedi Samvat.	A. D.	Month and day.	Calculated week-day.
793	1042	Phâlgun badi 9, Monday ...	Sunday.
896	1145	Mâgha sudi 8, Wednesday ...	* Wednesday.
898	1147	Aswina sudi 7, Monday ...	Saturday.
902	1151	Ashâdha sudi 1, Sunday ...	* Sunday.
907	1156	Mârgasiras sudi 11, Sunday ...	* Sunday.
909	1158	Srâvana sudi 5, Wednesday ...	Thursday.
928	1177	Srâvana sudi 6, Sunday ...	Monday.
928	1177	Mâgha badi 10, Monday ...	* Monday.

[1] The Jabalpur copper-plate also gave the name of the week-day, but the year was unfortunately misread as 528 Samvat; and as the plate has since been stolen from the Nâgpur museum, the date can only be corrected by calculation. The month and day are Mâgha badi 10, Monday.

From all the data which I have noticed in my accounts of different reigns, it is certain that the initial point of the era must be close to A. D. 249; and as that year gives the correct week-days by computation for four of the recorded dates, and gives a difference of only one day in three of the other four dates, I think that it may be accepted, for the present, as being almost certainly the true starting-point of the Chedi era. The following table of the Kulachuri Kings will show how well this initial point agrees with all their recorded dates.

Chedi era.	A. D.	
0	249	The Chedi or Kulachuri Samvat established.
1	250	
—	—	Kakavarna, King of Chedi, cut off by a descendant of Sisupâla.
271	520	Sankaragana, Râja of Chedi.
301	550	Buddha, Râja of Chedi [his son], defeated by Mangalisa Chalukya.
431	680	The Haihayas defeated by Vinayâditya Chalukya.
481	730	The Haihaya Princess Lokamahâ Devi marries Vikramadity II. Chalukya.
626	875	Kokalla I., contemporary of Bhoja of Kanauj.
651	900	Mugdhatunga.
676	925	Yuvarâja.
701	950	Lakshmana, made Lakshman Sagar at Bilhari.
726	975	Yuva Râja, contemporary of Vâkpati.
751	1000	Kokalla II.
771	1020	Gânggeya Deva, reigning in A. D. 1030 (Abu Rihân).
791	1040	Karṇa Deva { S. 793, contemporary of Bhoja. S. 815, built palace at Bilhari.
831	1080	Yaṣah Karṇa.
866	1115	Gaya Karna, S. 902.
902	1151	Nara Sinha Deva, S. 907, 909, 926, 928.
930	1179	Jaya Sinha Deva (brother).
932	1181	Vijaya Sinha Deva, S. 932.

The inscription of Vijaya Sinha Deva, dated in 932 of the Chedi Samvat, is the last notice that has yet been found of this old family, which for one thousand years had ruled over the upper valley of the Narbada. How, or when, they were expelled we know not; but it seems almost certain that one of the chief causes of their downfall was the rise of the

Bâghel power in Rewa, which, according to the genealogies of the Rewa and Bâra families, must have been some time during the 12th century A. D. The present generation is the thirty-first from Vyâghra Deva, the founder of both branches of the family. Allowing 25 years to a generation, the death of Vyâghra will fall in the year 1186 A. D. Now, the Bâghels derive their name from this Vyâghra, who is said to have been a son of Siddh Rai Jay Sinh, who ruled at Analwâra from 1100 to 1150. His son will, therefore, date from 1150 to 1175; and his settlement in Rewa, the north-eastern half of the Chedi kingdom, must be assigned to the same period. Thus the rise of the Bâghels and their settlement in Rewa in the latter half of the 12th century correspond exactly with the decline and extinction of the Kulachuri dynasty of Chedi. What became of the people is unknown. There are now no Haihayas to be found, either at Bilhari or at Jabalpur. A few still exist in the upper valleys of the Sohâgpur district, in the wildest corner of their former dominions, about 100 miles to the east of Jabalpur, and the same distance to the south of Rewa.

19.—KHANDWA.

The town of Khandwâ is situated at the junction of the two great roads leading from Northern and Eastern India towards the Dakhin, or south. Its happy position must have led to its early occupation, and I believe, therefore, that it may be identified with Ptolemy's *Kognabanda*. It is mentioned by Abu Rihân, under the name of *Kandwaho* كندوهو as lying on the road from Dhâr towards the Dakhin. The present town consists of two broad streets of two-storeyed houses crossing each other, with a few other narrow and winding streets in the angles. The slight eminence on which the town stands is not a mound, formed by the ruins of former buildings, but a natural elevation of rock, which in many places is quite bare. In consequence of the want of soil, there are no large trees, and but few small ones.

The town is surrounded by four great tanks—the remains of former prosperity. The *Padam kund*, to the north-west of the town, is 90 feet square. Numerous pieces of old carvings are let into the stone walls of this tank. There are six short inscriptions on the roofs of some small niches, which have almost certainly been taken from a temple. All of

them are dated in Samvat 1189, or A. D. 1132. The figures about the tank are all Brahmanical, such as Ganeṣa, Bhairava, and the Bull Nandi. Close by is a small modern temple of Padmeswara, with an enshrined lingam, and many small figures from some old temple. It seems probable, therefore, that the tank was repaired from the ruins of an old temple of Padmeswara. Still farther to the north-west there is a fine large tank named Bhairon Tâl, which is 600 feet square.

To the south-west of the town lies the *Kilâl kund*, which is 50 feet square, with walls broken. To the south-west is the *Bhim kund*, near the railway iron bridge; and to the north-east is the *Suraj kund*.

Near the Kilâl kund there is a small plastered modern temple of Tulja Devi, beside which a great fair is held annually on the full moon of Pous. Here also there are some remains of Brahmanical sculpture, amongst which I observed a large figure of Ganeṣa and a long frieze covered with small figures.

In the Padam kund there is said to be an inscription on the floor of one of the niche temples, which is covered by the water. It is generally believed to cover treasure; and I was informed that three men from Nâgpur, Hushangâbâd, and Khandwâ had once made an attempt to lift the stone. But as it would not move, they began to cut it with chisels, when the goddess Devi made them all ill, and they died suddenly.

The inscriptions at the Padam kund are all more or less injured, and not one of them has yet been read. Apparently, they recorded the names of different statues which must once have occupied the niches. I can read *Murtti Jalesayâm* at the end of one, and *Murtti Sri* at the end of the first line of a second. I have a suspicion that they must have belonged originally to a Jain temple.

In the town there is a Jain temple of Pârasnâth, which contains several inscribed statues; but the Seth in charge would neither allow *me* to see them, nor my servants to copy them. Two of them are dated in eleven hundred odd of the Samvat. I may add here that in nearly all the places which I have visited, I have found the Jain custodians both surly and unaccommodating.

20.—BURHÂNPUR.

The city of Burhânpur is situated on the north bank of the Tâpti river, 12 miles nearly due south from Asirgarh, and 40 miles south by west from Khandwâ. It was founded in A. D. 1399 by Nasir Khan, the first of the Fâruki kings of Khândes, on the site of an old Hindu town named Basâna-khera. The new city was named Burhânpur, in honour of the famous saint Burhân-ud-din of Daulatâbâd. It was the usual residence of all the later Fâruki kings, and it was during their rule of two hundred years that the two great mosques named the Jâmi Masjid and the Bibi Masjid were built. The city within the walls is just two miles in length from north to south, by half a mile in breadth. But there are numerous remains outside, showing that the suburbs must once have been very extensive. There are no Hindu remains of any kind, and the very name of Basâna-khera, or the "mound of Basâna," would seem to show that the place was a mere mass of ruins when first occupied by the Muhammadans. There are several Muhammadan tombs; but the only buildings of any archæological interest are the Bibi Masjid and the Jâmi Masjid.

The Bibi Masjid was built by one of the queens of the Fâruki dynasty; but her name has not been preserved; and as there is no inscription on the building, even its date is uncertain. It seems, however, very probable that it must have been built by the Gujarâti princess, the daughter of Muzafar Shah, and the wife of Adil Shah II. Her husband died after a short reign of nine years, in A. H. 926, or A. D. 1520; yet she most probably retained both wealth and authority during the succeeding reigns of her two sons, Miran Muhammad and Mubârak. The latter died in A. H. 974, or A. D. 1566. I would therefore assign the erection of the Bibi Masjid to the period between A. D. 1520 and 1540. In A. D. 1874 the building was said to be 375 years old, which would place its foundation A. H. 915, or A. D. 1510. As this is the very date of the accession of Adil Shah II., it is possible that the masjid may have been begun by his mother, the daughter of Mahmûd Shah of Gujarât. It is recorded by Ferishta that Adil Shah removed his court from Tâlner to Burhânpur, and it is only natural that a masjid should have been one of the first works erected for the adornment of his new capital.

The masjid is a simple rectangle in plan, 132½ feet long by 48½ broad outside, and 123½ feet by 39½ feet inside, the walls being exactly 4 feet 6 inches thick. The roof is supported on four rows of square pillars, forming five aisles in the length and fifteen in the breadth.[1] There are three large arches in the front wall, the middle one being 14 feet 7 inches wide, and the side ones, 7 feet 10 inches. On each side of the main entrance there is a massive square tower, with the angles indented after the fashion of Hindu temples. In the piers between the arches there are smaller openings of 3 feet 8 inches, each being covered in front by a small projecting balcony. In the inside, opposite each of the three large arches, the four middle pillars are omitted, and the open space is covered by a large dome, springing from the octagon, formed in the Hindu fashion. All the remaining squares are covered by pointed arches, and the angles of the three great squares are cut off by pendentives of plain, pointed arches.

The two towers which flank the middle arch, are five storeys in height; but only the two lower storeys are of stone, the three upper ones being of brick. From this I conclude that they were originally the flanking towers of a central screen wall, as in the fine examples still existing at Jaunpur, Benares, Etâwa, and other places. That the upper storeys of brick are later additions, is, I think, proved by the fact, that there is an undoubted brick addition to the whole front wall of the masjid, which has been heightened by building a brick-wall of 8 feet on the top of the original stone battlements. All the small domes are completely hidden by this brick wall, and the view of the three large domes is utterly spoiled by the concealment of the cylindrical necks.

The masjid is a good deal injured from the effects of time and weather. The walls of the courtyard are dilapidated, and the entrance gateway is closed. There is a short inscription of three lines over the door. The upper line is the usual Kalimah; and the lower lines seem to be an extract from the Kurân. I noticed that the building was not finished inside, as only the pillars in the south row and the pilasters against the back wall, with a single one in the middle octagon, have their angles indented, all the rest being plain square blocks. There is one, however, on which the

[1] See Plate XVII for a plan of this masjid.

indentations have been roughly hewn, and its unfinished state is the most complete proof that the work of the masjid must have been suddenly stopped, most probably by the death of the queen.

The Jâmi Masjid is built on the same plan as the Bibi Masjid, with four rows of pillars, forming five aisles in the length and fifteen in the breadth, without any front wall, the whole of the fifteen arches being open to the court. The minâr towers are also of the same pattern; but they are attached to the two angles of the building—an arrangement which was adopted by Jahângir and Shah Jahân. But this is the earliest specimen of lofty corner minârs with which I am acquainted. The date of the building is recorded in its inscriptions, both in Arabic and in Sanskrit, as A. H. 997, Samvat 1646, Sâke 1511, and the year Virodhi of the Jovian cycle, all of which correspond with[1] A. D. 1589, during the reign of Adil Shah.

III. The Sanskrit record is remarkable for giving at some length the genealogy of the Fâruki kings, who claim descent from the kings of Ghazni [Gajani Naresha]. These inscriptions are placed in the right corner of the back wall inside the masjid. Outside the wall of the left hand minâr there is a short inscription of Akbar, dated A. H. 1009, in which he records the conquest of Khândes and the Dakhin [*fath Khândes wa Dakin*].

The Jâmi Masjid is an unusually plain building, its exterior ornament being confined to a floriated battlement which runs all round the walls, while the only ornament of the interior is lavished on the pilasters of the niches in the back wall. These are all highly carved; and their contrast with the plain square pillars and the bare walls is so great, that I strongly suspect the intended ornamentation was suddenly stopped by Akbar's conquest of Khândes, which took place only eleven years after the date of the inscription. The building is generally in very good condition. Some repairs are said to have been made by Akbar, as well as by Aurangzeb; but if any work was done by Akbar it must

[1] These inscriptions were all sent to my lamented friend Mr. Blochmann, who, in his last letter to me dated 21st May 1878, thus refers to them: "The Asirgarh inscriptions have been lying ready for publication on my desk for a long time. You remember there was a Sanskrit inscription among them, which gives the pedigree of the Berar Sultâns; and I had collected all references to Berar from Muhammadan historians in order to put them, with your inscriptions, to the second part of my Àin, which, from want of funds, has not yet been commenced."

have been the *completion*, and not the *repair*, of the building. It is considerably larger than the Bibi Masjid, being 148 feet long by 49 feet broad inside, and 157 feet by 54 feet outside. The roof is vaulted throughout, with pendents at all the points of intersection of the vaults. There is no lofty central arch, and no great colour to attract the eye; but the long line of battlement pierced by fifteen pointed arches and flanked by two lofty minârs, 120 feet in height, has certainly a very pleasing as well as a very striking effect. The front view recals the Moti Masjid at Agra, and the pleasing effect of both is no doubt due to the same cause, the harmonious symmetry of their proportions.

21.—ASIRGARH.

The famous fort of *Asirgarh* is situated on an isolated hill of the Sâtpura range, 12 miles nearly north from Burhânpur, and 8 miles west from the Railway Station of Chandai. It is visible from both places. In early days it was a position of great importance, as it commanded the high road leading through the Sâtpura range from Northern to Southern India, while it was itself nearly impregnable from its great height and its unfailing supply of water. It is only half the size of Gwâlior, but it is just double its height. Its strength has not been exaggerated, as it stood a long siege against Akbar's generals, and was only taken at last by the indomitable perseverance of Abul Fazl. So overjoyed was Akbar by its reduction, that he recorded the capture not only on the walls of the Jâmi Masjid at Burhâmpur, and on the rock of Asirgarh itself, but also on a gold medal, which bears the proud inscription *Zarb Asir*, "struck at Asir." On the obverse of the medal there is a falcon, emblematic of his swoop on this famous stronghold, and on the reverse is the inscription:—*Allah Akbar, Zarb Asir, Isfandârmaz, Ilâhi 45.* "God is great! Struck at Asir, in the month of Isfandârmaz, in the 45th year of the Ilâhi era." As the Ilâhi years were solar, and the reckoning began from Akbar's accession in February 1556 A. D., the 45th year extended from February 1600 to February 1601. Asir was taken some months previously, on the 17th Safar 1009 A. H., or 18th August A. D. 1600; but the distribution of honours was delayed until the 8th Shâbân, or 1st February 1601, when "the Emperor bestowed great

honours on Sheikh 'Abul Fazl,' including a banner and kettle drums." As this date of the Hijra corresponds with the month of Isfandârmaz of the Ilâhi era, the gold coin just described must have been issued at the same time. I know of only two specimens of this coin, of which one is in the Payne-Knight Collection of the British Museum, and the other belonged to a Brahman family at Benares.[1]

The fortress of Asir including the lower work of Malaigarh is nearly one mile in length by half a mile in breadth. The upper fort, or Asirgarh, is upwards of half a mile in length, and 750 feet in height above the plain below. The upper part of the rock is very precipitous, and quite unapproachable, especially on the southern face. On the east and west sides a second wall has been added at the foot of the cliff, and the main entrance on the west is further protected by the lower fort of Malaigarh. To the south-east, only one-quarter of a mile distant from the walls, there is a small but lofty hill, now named *Mughal topi*, which I believe to be the "little hill called Koriya," which was seized and occupied by Akbar's general because it was—

"so close to the fortress as to have command over it. The besiegers then saw that by occupying this commanding position, and by getting possession of another which was strongly fortified, they might overcome the garrison. The former masters of the place had seen the importance of this position, and had scarped the rock so, that no one could climb up * * * After hard fighting the position was carried."[2]

The scarped height here described must be the isolated peak immediately *outside* the south-east corner, which by some fatal oversight is not included within the works. As the historian mentions, some one must have seen the importance of this point, as not only has the rock itself been scarped to make it inaccessible, but a sally-port has been constructed in the south-eastern bastion to give the garrison the ready means of repelling an assault in this direction.

Akbar appointed his son Dâniâl Governor of Khândês, at the same time changing its name to Dândês. His capture of the fortress is recorded on the rock on the right-hand side of the ascent by the western gate. The dates are 1009 A. H.

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[1] See Plate XIX, for a sketch of this gold coin. The other specimen has been described by Marsden in the Numismata Orientalia, but is not accompanied by an engraving.

[2] See Plate XIX—and the Akbar Nama in Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, by Dowson—VI. 144.

and 45 Ilâhi. Close by there is an inscription of his son Dâniâl dated on the 12th Ardi-bihisht, and 26th Shawâl, in which he calls himself "Governor of Dândês and Dakhin."

On a slab of stone at the Phuta Darwâza on the old ascent there is an inscription of Shah Jahân with the dates of A. H. 1037 and 1040, and containing the names of Parvez and Mahâbat Khan.

On a second stone slab (now in the Cantonment Magistrate's Office) there is a second inscription of Shah Jahân with the date of A. H. 1061, and jalus 25. This is said to have been taken from the Masjid on the top of the fort, which was built in Shah Jahân's reign. This must be the inscription which in Mr. Forsyth's time was near the large tank.

On the rock there is another inscription of Ṣhah Jahân dated in A. H. 1037.

On the rock near the Kamirgarh gate there is a curious inscription of Aurangzeb's time, recorded in the very first year of his reign before he had assumed the title of Alamgir. It is important, also, from the mention of his having acquired the kingdom by his sword. As it is short, I will quote the whole record:

> "The Prince Aurangzeb, protector of religion (may he be mighty for ever), by the mercy of God ascended the throne of the Emperor Akbar. He acquired his father's place by the power of his sword. The point of my pen is sharp to write the date: at once is written the name of Badshah *Kishwargír*," [conqueror of countries].

This title, by the values of its letters, gives the date 1069 A. H.-1658 A. D.

The name of this famous fort has been variously derived. The common people say that it was named after *Asa* Gauli, and that the tank and temple of *Asá Devi*, outside the fort on the south, were named after his sister Asâwari Devi. Ferishta makes *Asa* on *Ahir*, with the too transparent motive of deriving *Asir* from *Asa Ahir*. The Brahmans, however, are unanimous in assigning the name of the place to *Aswathâma* Rishi, and they point to the shrine of the saint, which is now called *Astamba* or *Astamb*. Abul Fazl also says that it possessed a shrine of Aswatthâma, when the Fâruki kings took it from the Hindus. It seems probable, therefore, that *Aswatthâma-giri* was the original name, and that the spoken form of *Asthâmgír*, or *Asthamgir*, has

been gradually shortened to *Asir*. It has been suggested by Mr. Forsyth that the hill was—

"first occupied for defensive purposes when the struggle commenced between the Hindu invaders of the Dakhin, and its aboriginal inhabitants."

This suggestion carries back the fortification of Asir to the very dawn of Indian history, when the Haihaya Yâdavas first occupied the valley of the Narbadâ. Without attempting to specify any particular period, the great antiquity of Asir may be admitted at once on account of its extremely favourable position. As I have already pointed out, it commands the only high road between the north-western and south-western districts of India. This obligatory passage through the Sâtpura range of mountains also gave rise to the old Hindu city of Khandwâ, and in later times to the Muhammadan city of Burhânpur. Khandwâ is mentioned by Abu Rihân in the beginning of the 11th century; and Burhânpur is said to have been built on the site of an old Hindu town named Basâna, or Bajâna. But these were mercantile towns, the offspring of a comparatively civilized age, whereas the scarped hill of Asir must almost certainly have been occupied as a stronghold at a much earlier period. I am inclined to identify it with the *Ozoabis* of Ptolemy, and to take Khandwâ as the representative of his *Kognabanda*.

22.—BHÂNDAK OR VÂKÂTAK.

The province of *Vâkâtak* is mentioned in three different inscriptions, from which we learn that it included the district of Seoni, between Jabalpur and Nâgpur, and that it formed the western boundary of the dominions of Rudra Deva of Warangal. The third inscription is in the Zodiac cave at Ajanta, which may also have belonged to the extreme western division of the country, as it is only 20 miles to the west of the source of the Pain Ganga river. Its boundaries may be approximately defined as the Mahâdeva range of hills on the north, and the Godâvari river on the south, with the Ajanta hills on the west, and the hills at the sources of Mahânadi on the east. Roughly speaking, therefore, it corresponded with the province of Berâr, or the modern Nâgpur. According to Abul Fazl, the Muhammadan Subah of Berar extended from Hindia

on the Narbadâ to Nander on the Godâvari, a distance of 180 kos; and from Patâla to Wairagarh a distance of 200 kos. These limits include the southern banks of the Narbadâ, which most probably did not belong to Vâkâtak; but the length measured from Wairâgarh to the westward would just reach to Ajanta. I do not know the position of Patâla, but it cannot be far from Ajanta. Abul Fazl states that the ancient name of Berar was *Wardâtât*. His words are—*asli nâm Wardâtat—Wardâ rûde ast, o ṭat kinâr*, (viz. *ast*); "the original name is *Wardatat*. *Warda* is a river and *tat* [is] border." Hence Berâr would mean the "land of the Warda."[1]

The inscriptions give no hint as to the name of the capital, but it seems to me almost certain that Bhândak was the chief city of the province in ancient times. This also is the judgment of Mr. A. C. Lyall, whose intimate knowledge of Berar and its antiquities makes his opinion on such a point almost conclusive. His words are:—

"Bhândak is most indubitably the site of an ancient city of the pre-Muhammadan era. The ruins are very extensive and most interesting. I have seen a good part of the old kingdom of Kosala, but I have nowhere found such clear signs and tokens of an extinct town as exist at Bhândak."

I have twice visited Bhândak myself and have explored its Buddhist caves and Brahmanical temples with great interest. The present town is upwards of a mile in length but the houses are scattered and straggling, and are said to number no more than 500. In former times, however, it must have been a very large place, extending about two miles from north to south, and one mile from east to west, which would give a circuit of six miles. The town occupies the top of a low broad plateau of rock, thinly covered with soil. The old roads have cut deeply into the soft coarse rock, in many places as much as two or three feet below the surface. The wheel-ruts in which the bullocks also go, are still deeper, being often more than one foot below the middle of the road on which the people walk. Near the north end of the town there is a large enclosure called the fort, which is built entirely of squared stones. Outside it is 304 feet long from north to south, and 276 feet broad. The walls are 14 feet

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[1] In Gladwin's translation the name is given as *Durdatut*, and *ṭat kinâr* is altered to *Sittkenner*. For the correction in the text I am indebted to my good friend Mr. Blochmann, whose untimely death has been a sad loss to Muhammadan literature.

thick, and from 25 to 30 feet high, with square buttresses, or bastions, 28 feet broad, with a projection of 15 feet beyond the walls. There are three of these buttresses on each of the long sides, and two on each of the others. Inside there are only two small buildings, one on each side of the entrance. There is nothing to show what was the original purpose of this building, but its costliness would seem to show that it must have been the Râja's palace. The walls contain upwards of half a million cubic feet of squared stone laid without mortar after the fashion of Hindu temples. But the stones of the gateway are laid with lime mortar. At first I was inclined to look upon this curious place as a stronghold of the Muhammadans, built out of the spoils of Hindu temples. But they do not appear to have ever occupied Bhândak, and I believe that the radiating arches, as well as the figure of Ganesa and of other gods in the gateway, are due to the Gond Râjas of Chânda. One man, however, informed me that he had heard that the fort had been built by a Muhammadan governor named Ismail Khan. I doubt the truth of this statement on account of the figures of Ganes and other gods being set up in the walls.

The town is nearly surrounded by *pán* gardens, old tanks, and large forests of trees. Towards the west the country is open, and even bare, but the bareness is scarcely noticed as the view is bounded by the picturesque hills of Wijâsan crowned with temples.[1] To the north-west there are the ruins of two temples in the fields near the Tâka Talao. To the east and south are numerous mounds strewn with cut stones, carved pillars and broken sculptures. Only three of the existing temples are old; but the hundreds of sculptures, and the numerous foundations of squared stones, show that Bhândak must once have been a great city. The only temples which have preserved their names are called Badari-nâth, or Badari-Nâg, Chandi-Devi and Pârswanâth. The ruined temples have received fancy names from the people, such as "Jobnâsa's Palace," whilst others are only known by the names of the tanks near which they are situated. The name of Jobnâsa, or Yuvanâswa, has been adopted from a mistaken identification of Bhândak with Bhadravati, where Yuvanâswa

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[1] See plate XX for a map of the country around Bhândak.

attempted to perform the *Aswamedha* sacrifice with the horse Sâmkarna, which was carried off by Bhîma. Altogether, I found 14 caves, 18 temples, 24 wells and 8 tanks, but the hollows of at least 30 more tanks are still traceable. The oldest of these remains appear to be the Buddhist caves of *Wijâsan* and *Gaurârâ*, and the latest the Brahmanical temples of *Chandâ Devi* and *Jobnâsa's Palace.*

CAVES OF WIJASAN.

The small hill of Wijâsan is situated rather more than one mile to the south-west of Bhândak. To the north lies a fine lake called Râkha Tâl which is nearly a mile square, and to the west of the lake there is a lofty hill two miles in length, on the top of which there is a ruined fort and a Brahmanical temple. The smaller hill, also, has its ruined temple, but the remains of greatest interest are the Buddhist caves, which are still in a very perfect state of preservation, owing, I believe, to the extreme dryness of the rock.

The name of the hill is written indifferently either as *Wijâsan* or *Winjhâsan*. The first may be derived from *Vidya-âsan*. "the abode of learning;" but the other form points to the *Vindhya*, although it is probable that the nasal is a mere local addition. The principal cave is known simply as the house of Bhîmsen, and I could not hear of any traditions regarding the origin of the caves.

These caves differ from all the other greater groups that I have seen, in having no large halls for meeting, and no chaitya caves for perambulation. The three principal works consist entirely of long passages leading through small chambers up to small shrines of Buddha.[1] The excavations are in the shape of a cross, the lower member being an open passage 63 feet long, the upper member a gallery cave 74 feet long, and the right and left members two gallery caves, respectively 47 feet and 35 feet long. The open passage runs from east to west, with a general width of 20 feet, of which the central passage occupies 9 feet with a platform of 6 feet on each side. In the left wall there are four small shrines, all empty; and on the platform in front of them there is a square stone pillar with two carved faces, of which one presents a figure of the four-armed Durgâ slaying the Mahesâsur or Buffalo-demon. A

[1] See plate XXI for a plan of these caves.

mutilated inscription shows by the shape of its letters that the pillar is of comparatively late date. On the same wall of the passage there is a shallow recess holding a three-headed Brahmanical figure; and just beyond it there is a Buddhist Stûpa in high relief.

On the right hand, or north side of the passage, there are three Buddhist Stûpas carved in high relief. Over the largest of these an oblong panel has been roughly traced with a chisel. As this tracing is of exactly the same size as the Brahmanical shrine on the south side, and is immediately opposite to it, we have the clearest proof that the Brahmanical occupation of the caves was of later date than the Buddhist. On this wall there are traces of inscriptions in several places, but they are all too much mutilated to be readable. Some of the letters are quite perfect, and from their shapes I infer that the original excavations may reach as high as the second or third century A. D.

At the west end of the open passage we reach the doors of the three caves, one to the front, and the others to the right and left. I think that these three cave doors are mentioned in the opening of the great Bhândak inscription as the *trisile mukha*, or "three rock cut doors." Passing through the middle entrance, we reach a flat-roofed chamber 9 feet by 4 feet, beyond which is a large chamber 32 feet long, and from 8 to 10 feet broad, with a pointed arched roof springing from an impost. On the left-hand there is a small room 6 feet 9 inches square, with a low pointed roof; and beyond it a niche containing a four-armed statue of Saraswati holding a book and a lute [Vina]. On the right-hand are two small rooms, one 6 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, and the other 5 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 6 inches. The roofs are half arches. These must be the cells of two attendant monks, as they are simply stone beds, raised 1½ foot above the floor, with a rock pillow at each end. From the head of the long chamber a few short passages lead up to the sanctum, a small room 11 feet 3 inches long by 7 feet 1 inch broad, and 8 feet 4 inches high with a flat roof. Here is enshrined a mutilated figure of Buddha seated on a throne, which is only darkly visible in the dim religious light at the end of the low gallery 74 feet in length. There is a short inscription of six letters on the right jamb of the entrance. The first and last letters are doubtful; but the whole may be read as *Sri Rudasachi-hu*. This record seems

to be only the name of a pilgrim, Rudrâ, who had visited the cave. But it is of value as a guide to the age of the cave, as the letters are all of the Gupta type of an earlier date than A. D. 500.

The right-hand, or north cave, is of exactly the same character as the front cave, but it is smaller, being only 47 feet in length with a height of 8 feet. At 8 feet from the entrance we pass through a chamber 10 feet long with a round arched roof 8 feet 7 inches high; but there are neither side chambers nor niches, and the sanctum is empty. On the entrance door the character *bi* is engraved of the gigantic size of 10 inches high by 6 inches broad. It may perhaps be the initial syllable of *Bijâsan*.

The left-hand, or south cave, is similar in character to the others, but is still smaller, being only 34 feet 9 inches in length. The long passage has the same round arched roof, but it is 9 feet 5 inches high. On the right-hand side there is a chamber 6 feet 4 inches long by 2 feet 7 inches broad, which was no doubt the cell of the attendant monks. The sanctum is only 6 feet 9 inches by 5 feet, but the statue of Buddha is still seated in its place.

A glance at the plate of these caves will show that they are all executed on the same plan. There is first a narrow entrance leading to a cross chamber beyond which is a long vaulted gallery. This is followed by a second cross chamber, and in the largest cave by a third, when another narrow passage opens into the sanctum.

The inscriptions on the north wall of the open passage are unfortunately too much injured to be readable. A few of the letters are quite certain, and their forms show distinctly that they belong to two different periods; the earlier to the Gupta period before A. D. 500, and the later to the 7th or 8th century, when the attached vowels and the feet of the consonants were prolonged into barbed flourishes.

The earliest notice of these caves that I have seen is by Dr. S. G. Malcolmson, which is valuable for its silence regarding the great inscription, as it shows almost conclusively that this record of the caves had already been removed to Nâgpur. His account is so brief that it may be quoted entire:—[1]

"In May 1828, I passed through a town called Bhândak, 18 miles from Chânda, on the road to Nâgpur, and finding many Hindu ruins

[1] Bengal Asiatic Soc. Journal, IV, 180.

well sculptured on the sandstone of the district, I spent the day in examining them. To the greater number I could give names, but one insignificant head, much injured, struck me as having the composed sleep-like appearance of the Buddhist sculptures. This induced me to make some enquiries, and I soon heard that, in a hill two miles off, there was a cavern, and on reaching it I found an excavation consisting of three parts, the principal of which penetrated 20 paces into the rock, but was narrow in proportion to its length. In a small apartment at its extremity was a sitting Buddha figure, six feet high. The passage was arched with several recesses on each side, and near the entrance the two other portions of the temple extended 10 paces into the rock, like the arms of a cross, and were in every respect similar. A rude outline of Buddha could be traced on the rock, where it was smoothed away on each side of the mouth of the cavern. There was a figure of Durgâ inside the temple, and one at the door, on separate pieces of stone, and of modern appearance. The small head which first attracted my attention was found amongst the rubbish of a ruined temple, which some Jain Banians in the town were engaged in removing in search of their images, and amongst these I found several of the naked figures (four or five feet high), with curly hair, and differing amongst themselves, usually found in Jain temples, and also representations of Buddha in the sitting posture, with the hands laid over each other, the palms uppermost, the hair curly, the forehead wide, with little figures kneeling before him, and others fanning him; amongst them was a figure of Durgâ. The Jains have also a modern temple there."

In December 1873, when I was at Bhândak, I was informed that an inscription on a long red slab had been taken to Nâgpur during the time of the Raja about 40 or 50 years previously by Wilkinson Saheb. Now Major Wilkinson was the Resident at the Nâgpur Court at that very time, and from him was received the copy of an inscription which Dr. Stevenson published in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society.[1] This very inscription is now in the Nâgpur Museum. It is a long *slab* just as described to me by the people of Bhândak, and it is of the very same fine-grained, reddish stone as that of the caves in the Wijâsan hill. I have no doubt, therefore, that this is the identical inscription on a "long slab of red stone" which was removed by Major Wilkinson from the Wijâsan caves to Nâgpur. This is further confirmed by the inscription itself, which records the fact of the reigning sovereign Bhava Deva having become a *Bodhisatwa*, or Buddhist sage. It also mentions that the place to which the inscription was attached was the "house of *Sugata*" and the "abode of *Jina*," two well-known names of Buddha.

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[1] Bombay Asiatic Soc. Journal, 1, 148.

Dr. Stevenson was fully aware that this was a Buddhist inscription, as he says that—

"The tablet from which the transcript is taken was probably originally attached to a building destined for Buddhist ascetics by a sovereign of that faith,"

and further that the record is

"of considerable importance as affording direct proof that up to a period comparatively recent, the Buddhist ascendancy was maintained."

Here Dr. Stevenson adds the words "in the east of India;" as he believed that the inscription described Raja Surya Ghosha as the "lord of Urisi" or Orissa. But the word which he took for *Urisi* was certainly misread. I read *Asindhitrau Kshitipate*, "the Lord of Asindhitru;" but the name is indistinct. It may perhaps be the *Asidathra* of Ptolemy, which belonged to the country of the Bettiji. I take exception, also, to Dr. Stevenson's date which he finds in the words *saṁ Shivojwale*, or 711. The word *jwálá* is clear enough, but the first letter is not *Saṁ* but *Sra*, and this at once disposes of the date. I am also puzzled to understand how a record, which, as Dr. Stevenson admits, "affords direct proof" of Buddhist ascendancy, can open with a long invocation to Siva. A simple reference to the Brahmanical deities, such as to Lakshmi the goddess of prosperity, or to Saraswati "the goddess of eloquence" would be natural enough. It is true that the invocation ends with the name of *sarvajna*, which is a title of Siva; but as it was also a title of *Buddha* or *Jina* [1] I think it possible that Dr. Stevenson may have been misled by the faultiness of his copy. Unfortunately he has not given any transcript of the inscription; but several portions of the opening lines on the stone are so much obliterated, that it seems quite impossible to restore them. Besides which, I can vouch for the inaccuracy of many parts of the lithographed copy which accompanies the translation.

My copy of the inscription was made from actual paper impressions on which many of the fainter and more doubtful letters were pencilled on the spot. Some were given up as utterly hopeless; but the greater part of the letters are fairly legible. Judging from the forms of the letters, I would assign the inscription to the 7th or 8th century A. D.

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[1] Colebrooke's Amara Kosha, in voce Buddha.

BHÂNDAK TEMPLES.

In Bhândak itself there is only one cave worth notice. It is excavated in the western face of the low ridge on which the town is situated, at a short distance from the temple of Badarinâg. It consists of a large open court 35 feet long by 18½ feet broad, from which two openings on the east lead into a suite of caves, and one opening on the south into a single one.[1] The two doors of the eastern cave open into a hall 33 feet long by 10½ feet broad, in which there is a single niche with a figure of Lakshmi holding the club and discus of Vishnu. This hall is from 8 to 9 feet high. On the east side there are two openings leading into two separate chambers, each about 9 feet square and 7 feet high. In the left-hand chamber is enshrined a seated figure of the ten-armed Durgâ, and in that to the right a four-armed figure of Siva with trident and three-headed snake. There was formerly also a colossal figure in this cave, but only the two attendants now remain, one of them being the skeleton goddess Kâli. From the south-east corner of this chamber a narrow passage leads into an unfinished cave 11 feet long by 3 feet broad.

The south cave consists of a single room 17 feet 6 inches in length by 15 feet 7 inches in breadth. Nearly in the middle there is a small raised platform 3 feet square, which most probably once supported a lingam of Siva.

There is nothing to show the age of these caves except the few figures which still remain. From the style of these I infer that the caves belong to the same age as the Brahmanical temples, that is to the 11th or 12th century.

The Brahmanical temples of Bhândak are all more or less ruined, but several of the remains are of sufficient interest to warrant a detailed notice.

The *Chandi Devi* temple is situated on a rising ground in the midst of the forest to the south-east of the town, and just 540 paces from the Akhâra mound. Its proper name, as noted in a short inscription on one of the pillars, is *Chandrikâ Devi*. From this record also we learn that the temple was built in the Samvat year 1133, or A. D. 1076. Its ground plan differs from that of the other temples of

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[1] See Plate XXII.

Bhândak in having two pillared halls, but I cannot help suspecting that the outer one is a subsequent addition.[1]

The entrance to the temple is towards the town facing the west. The portico, which is 11 feet square, leads into an open pillared hall, 26 feet square, supported on 16 square columns nearly 8 feet in height. From the middle aisle another doorway leads into the second hall, which is only 21½ feet in breadth by 26 feet in length. Its roof is supported by 8 square columns and 8 pilasters. The sanctum, which is nearly 10 feet by 6 feet, enshrines a standing female figure 4 feet 4 inches high. She has only two arms, and is, I suppose, the Chandikâ Devi of the inscription after whom the temple is named. The roof of the sanctum was a low pyramid.

In the hall there are figures of Ganesa, Mahesâsuri Devi, and of a god, goddess and child grouped together. Outside the temple there are statues of Hara-Gauri, Ganeṣa, and of a woman with a child on her hip.

I was informed that the road officer had begun to dismantle this temple, and had taken down two of the architraves of the *Mahâmandapa*, when he was stopped by the civil authorities. I afterwards verified this statement of the people by an examination of the nearest bridge on the high road, where I found several carved and squared stones still lying unused.

The Dolâra tank is situated just one mile to the east of the town, and close to the high road. On an island in the middle of the tank there was formerly a temple which was approached from the south by a long bridge. The bridge still remains, but nearly all the stones of the temple have been carried away to make road bridges. Even the name of the temple has now been lost, and the bridge is only known as the *Chumârika-Dolâra*. Its construction is very simple. Sixteen pairs of square pillars 4 feet apart, are placed at intervals of 8 feet 4½ inches from the tank to the island. The intervals are spanned by stone beams, over which is laid the roadway of stone slabs. The whole structure is 157 feet long and 5½ feet broad. The pillars are 16½ inches square, with spreading capitals of a rather elegant design which give a very pleasing appearance to this long viaduct. A sketch of one of the pillars is given in the accompanying

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[1] See Plate XXIII.

plate,[1] along with others from neighbouring temples with which it may be compared.

The *Akhâra* mound is the ruin of an old temple which has been cleared and levelled as a wrestling place. Nothing is known about the temple, and the only figure which is set up on the top was brought from the temple of Chandi Devi. It is a seated figure holding a club over the left shoulder, and was no doubt selected as an appropriate adornment of the palæstra, where club exercise is daily practised by the wrestlers. The mound is situated at the south end of the town, and 525 paces from the temple of Badarinâg.

In the forest to the north-east of the Akhâra mound, at a distance of 330 paces, there are some remains of a Jain temple to *Pârswanâth*. The sanctum still remains with a naked figure of Pârswanâth, canopied by a seven-headed snake. The statue is 5½ feet high, and the cell is nearly 8 feet square. Beyond it are the remains of a hall 20 feet long and 7½ feet broad.

The temple of *Badarinâg* is the only one of all the Bhândak shrines that has preserved its fame. The "*Snake-temple*" is known all over the country, but it is the holiness of the *Nâga*, and not the beauty of the temple that has made the shrine so famous. As it now stands the temple consists of a half-open hall supported on 20 pillars, with a small sanctum at one end, but the whole is a hasty reconstruction of old materials. There is no entrance porch, and the officiating Brahmans gain admittance through a door in one of the side walls.[2]

The object of worship is a *Nâga*, or snake, which is said to make its appearance on all public occasions. Inside the sanctum there is a curious brass cover, surmounted by a five-headed snake. The cover, which is open both at top and bottom, is conical in shape and corrugated horizontally to represent the coils of a snake. Its form is just like that of a puffed crinoline. This curious vessel was presented to the temple upwards of one hundred years ago by Sâmbaji Kasâr. At the annual fair this vessel is carried to the meeting by a party of Dhimars.

In the courtyard of the temple outside there are several figures standing against the wall, of which the most noteworthy are:

1.—A large statue of Vishnu with boar's head, as the Varâha Avatâr, with the other incarnations in small size grouped around.

[1] See Plate XXIV. [2] See Plate XXIII.

2.—Statue of Vishnu, four-armed, holding the club, the discus, shell and lotus.

3.—Statues of Vishnu and Lakshmi on Garud.

4.—Hara-Gauri.

5.—Ganesa.

6 and 7.—Two rude Lions.

Along with these figures there is an inscribed slab, dated in Sake 13 * *, in the *Kshaya* Samvatsara. The date is therefore either 1301 or 1368 Sake, or A. D. 1386 or 1446, as Kshaya is the last year of the Jupiter Cycle of 60 years. But there is no certainty that this record belonged to the temple which is now called Badari-Nâg. The inscription itself records the dedication of a statue of *Jagannáráyana*, and as the principal figures now standing outside are of Vishnu, it seems highly probable that the original temple was dedicated to that god. The plan of the present temple in the accompanying plate shows that it is a modern reconstruction.

The *Táka Talao Temple* is situated close to a *tánka* or tank, 300 feet square and 20 feet deep, the sides of which are built of " cut stones" [tânka] with the upper course moulded. The tank is a little way outside the town on the north-west. The main body of the temple is said to have been very nearly intact some years ago, when the engineers of the Warora coal works began to dismantle it. The traces of the removal of beams and slabs from the roof were quite fresh at the time of my visit. The people appealed to the Deputy Commissioner of Chânda, and the demolition was at once stopped.

The temple consists of one large hall of three aisles, the centre aisle leading direct from the entrance to the anteroom in front of the sanctum being 7 feet 3 inches wide, while the side aisles are only 4 feet 2 inches. Lengthwise, also, the pillars are spaced differently from the usual custom, as the middle space is only 4 feet 2 inches, instead of 7 feet 3 inches. Perhaps this narrowing of the central space was found from experience to be necessary on account of the liability to breakage of long beams when subjected to a heavy weight. I noticed that all the beams of the Dolâra Bridge, which have a span of 8 feet 4 inches, are intact, while the temple beams of the same span are generally broken. The roof of the hall is supported on eight pillars and 12 pilasters, which are remarkable for the great splay of

their bracket capitals. Two specimens of these pillars are given in the accompanying plate; that marked A being from the western side of the temple, and B from the middle aisle.[1] The mouldings of the capitals of these aisle pillars appear to me to be quite new and peculiar in their arrangement. Compare the Ghorpet capital in the same plate. They are of the same character as the Dolâra and Gaorâra examples, but are quite different from any others that I have seen in Northern India, and would seem to be peculiar to this part of the country.

Inside the temple there is a large figure of Vishnu sleeping on the serpent Ananta, 6 feet long by 3 feet broad, which is sufficient evidence to show that the temple must have been dedicated to that god.

To the eastward of the Tâka temple and to the south of the Dudhâra tank, there are four richly carved pillars, standing in a field, which once formed part of a great temple. The pillars are 8½ feet in height, and 1½ foot square at the base. They form a square which was originally the central part of the *Mahâmandapa*, or great hall. The mouldings of the capital combine the upper member of the Tâka Talâo example with the lower members of the Gaorâra example.

GAORARA.

Gaorâra, or Gavarâra, is a small village situated one mile and a half to the south of Bhândak. To the west are several fine tanks, especially the Asan Tâl, beyond which is a low hill crowned with the remains of several temples. There are also many detached rocks, several of which have been hollowed out to form caves and niches. The principal temple is called Jobnasa's Palace, and the two chief caves are called his Big and Little Fowl-houses.

The rock-cut niches are found in a group of huge rounded stones which form a tolerably uniform front about 40 feet in length. The first niche beginning from the left hand contains a lingam, and the second a row of figures of the Ashta-Sakti, on eight female effigies. The third has a seated figure of Ganeṣa, the fourth is empty, the statue having been removed from its socket, but there is a lingam scratched on the wall behind. The sixth niche contains a

[1] See Plate XXIV.

lingam, and a place for a second figure. The seventh niche has only a mutilated figure. All these niches are roughly hewn out.

The "Big Fowl-house" is a carefully cut room, 9 feet long by 5 feet 2 inches broad, and upwards of 7 feet high. The entrance is 3 feet 7 inches wide, and there are traces of a structural porch which once stood in front of it. Round the three walls of the cave there is a raised platform for the reception of statues. This has been very carefully hewn, with mouldings both above and below. There are eight large sockets in the platform for the reception of as many statues. In the plate I have marked the holes with the letters A to H. At present there are only a few loose figures in the cave, which from their small size are not likely to have been the original objects of worship. Three of these are Vishnu himself, on Ananta, and the dwarf and boar incarnations. A fourth is an unidentified seated figure, and the fifth is a lingam. If the cave had been dedicated to the Das-Avatâr of Vishnu, there would have been ten socket-holes instead of eight, unless, which is quite possible, more than one figure had been carved upon two of the stones. I have seen the fish and tortoise incarnations placed one above the other on the same stone, and such may have been the arrangement in this cave. But whatever may have been the original arrangement, it is clear that the worship of Vishnu was in fashion when the present figures were placed inside. It is quite possible that the cave may have been a Buddhist one, for the worshippers of Buddha always arranged their statues on platforms around the walls, as they do even at the present day in Burma. In favour of this assignment, I may note that a draped figure of Buddha is now lying at the foot of the hill, and that the small cave, called the "Little Fowl-house," which is close by, was almost certainly a monk's cell. It is 5 feet 5 inches long by 3 feet 3 inches broad, which are about the usual dimensions of the rock-hewn cells.

On the hill above these two caves stands the Brahmanical Temple called Jobnâsa's Palace. Although ruined externally, the arrangement of the interior is still nearly perfect. The entrance, which was to the south, has gone, but most of the pillars of the *Mahâmandapa*, or great hall, are still standing as well as the walls of the *antarâla* and sanctum. The roof of the hall was supported on 16 pillars, each 7½

feet in height. The capitals of these pillars appear to me to be more graceful in their proportions than those of the Bhândak temples.[1] They are also remarkable for the disuse of the pinched neck which gives an appearance of weakness to other Hindu pillars. But this advantage would seem to have been gained rather by decreasing the bulk of the shaft than by increasing the width of the neck.

The antarâla and sanctum are rather larger than those of the Bhândak temples. They are both empty; but in the hall there is a figure of Ganeṣa, and another of the Bull Nandi On the left hand jambs of the *antarâla* there is an inscription dated in the Samvat year 1166, or A. D. 1109. This temple is therefore somewhat later than that of Chandika Devi. A plan of it is given in the accompanying plate.[2]

On the south side, at a distance of only 21 feet, there is a small side temple containing a large statue of Ganeṣa. It consists of a single room 16 feet 4 inches long by nearly 7 feet wide, the entrance being towards the temple.

At 500 feet to the south there are the toundations of a large Saiva temple; and on low spurs of the hill to the east and north-east, distant 400 feet, there are the traces of two other temples. To the north also there are traces of three more temples.

DEWALWÂRA.

The hill of Dewalwâra is situated just six miles and a half to the west of Bhândak. On the top there is a small square fort with high walls, now in ruins. Inside the fort there are four pillars of an old temple still standing, of the same style as those of Chandika Devi. There is also a dry tank called *tánka*, and to the east of it is a natural mark in the rock, 15 inches long by 6 inches broad, called *Bhim Sen's Charan*, or foot-print.

In the side of the hill there are several caves, of which the largest is named *Narsinh*. This is a long, narrow passage which has all the appearance of a natural rent somewhat enlarged. Altogether it is 32 feet long from its mouth, but only 4 feet wide, except in a small chamber near the entrance, where it is 6 feet wide and 6 feet high. In this chamber there is a figure of the goddess Devi.

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[1] See Plate XXIV.
[2] See Plate XXIII.

About 100 feet to the south of the Narsinh cave there is a group of four small caves or cells which are rough and of no interest. But 100 feet further to the south, there is a double-roomed cave with straight sides. The outer-room is 8 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 3 inches, and has openings to the outside. The inner-room is only 6 feet 3 inches by 5 feet. Both rooms are extremely low, being only 4 feet 7 inches from floor to roof. It seems probable, therefore, that the excavation was not completed when the work was stopped.

23.—GHORPET.

At the village of Ghorpet, between Bhândak and Chânda, there was once a fine temple which has been utterly destroyed by a gigantic pipal tree, the roots of which now hold together a portion of its walls with one pilaster and several mouldings complete. This pipal tree is 9 feet in diameter and 29 feet in circumference. The pilaster is remarkable for being built up in regular courses of stone with the walls, instead of being a monolith. The remains were formerly much more extensive, but the stones are said to have been carried away by a road officer to build a bridge. The pilaster is a very fine example of the style of mouldings of the mediæval temples of this part of the country. One of the upper mouldings is undercut, and one of the lower mouldings has a raised lip on its upper edge. Nothing whatever is known as to the age of the temple; but as the neighbouring *baori* well of 13½ feet diameter has an arch of overlapping stones, the whole may be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century. A sketch of the pilaster is given in the accompanying plate, for comparison with other pillars at Bhândak and Mârkanda.[1]

24.—CHÂNDA.

The large city of Chânda, the capital of the southern Gonds, is said to have been built by Khândkia Ballâl Sâh in the 13th century. But as this prince, according to the native annals, was only four generations prior to Bâllaji Ballâl Sâh, the contemporary of Akbar, the date of the foundation of the city cannot be placed higher than A. D. 1450. The capital of the earlier kings was Ballâlpur, on the left bank

[1] See Plate XXIV.

of the Wardâ river, 6 miles to the south of Chânda. Here there is a stone fort with the ruins of an old palace attributed to Bhima Ballâla Sinha, the founder of the Chânda Gond dynasty. As he was ten generations prior to the founder of Chânda, the establishment of the Chânda Gonds may be referred to about 1200 A. D. The Gonds of the Mandala dynasty profess to trace their annals up to Samvat 415, or A. D. 358; but their claim of royalty is quite incompatible with the acknowledged supremacy of the Haihayas of Chedi. Yâdava Raja, the founder of the family, is said to have been in the service of the Haihaya King, and it seems probable that his descendents may have been petty chiefs under the great Kalachuri Kings of Kosala.

Nothing is known of the Chânda district prior to the Gond occupation by Bhima Ballâla Sinha. But the caves and temples of Bhândak show that this was the capital of a considerable kingdom for several centuries before the time of the Gond Kings. In my account of Bhândak I have suggested the probablity that it was the ancient *Vâkâṭaka*, the seat of the *Kailakila Yavanas* about the third and fourth centuries A. D. From the great Bhândak inscription, also, we learn that it was the chief city of a later dynasty which numbered amongst its Princes Surya Ghosha, Kutsa, Udayana, and Bhava Deva. These four probably reigned from A. D. 700 to 800, judging by some of the peculiar forms of the letters of the inscription. After this we have no mention of *Vâkâṭaka* until the time of Rudra Deva of Warangol, of whose kingdom it formed the western boundary in A. D. 1162. As this date is quite close to that of the rise of the Gond monarchy, it seems probable that *Vâkâṭaka* had existed as a distinct kingdom from the first centuries of the Christian era down to the Mahâratta conquest in the middle of the last century.

Chânda is a large walled town situated in the fork between the Jharpat Nala and the Erai river. It is about one mile and a half in length, by a mile and a quarter in breadth, but the greater part of the enclosed space is vacant. The walls were built by the Gond Raja Khândkia Ballâl Sâh, the contemporary of Akbar; but they were repaired by the Mahârattas and are now in excellent order. The walls are rather low, with lofty battlements, and they form a very efficient protection against the flood waters of the Erai river when driven backwards by the inundation of the Wardâ river.

The only buildings of any consequence are some temples and the tombs of the later Gond kings. The last are plain and substantial buildings, but rather heavy in appearance. The gateways offer good specimens of Gond art, as they are ornamented with sculptures of the fabulous monster lion overpowering an elephant, which was the symbol of the Gond kings.

The temples are generally plain, with pyramidal roofs in steps. The only exception is the fane of Áchileswara, the walls of which are covered with a multitude of small sculptured panels. There are several sculptures of the Nâga, but only one of them is of large size, with two smaller snakes on the same slab.

Outside the town to the south-east, at a picturesque spot called Lâlpet, there is a large collection of colossal figures which are more remarkable for their size than for their artistic excellence. They are situated on a rocky eminence amidst a fine grove of mango, custard-apple and tamarind trees. They must certainly have been carved on the spot, as many of them are much too heavy to be moved. In several cases they appear to have been detached rocks which were first rudely shaped into symmetrical blocks, and afterwards carved. They are arranged in a sort of rough circle, 150 feet across from east to west, by 120 feet from north to south, with a lingam of Siva in the middle. The following list of the subjects and dimensions of these curious sculptures shows that they are nearly all dedicated to the worship of Siva.

	Subject.	Length.	Breadth.	Height.
		' "	' "	' "
A	Lingam and Argha ...	9 0	5 9	
B	Elephant	5 9	...	
C	Siva's bull, Nandi	9 8	3 6	7 0
D	Ten-headed Durggâ	26 6	18 0	3 0
E	Siva, standing naked	13 9	7 1	
F	Do. standing	19 6	8 2	
G	Do. standing	9 0	4 6	
H	Ten-armed Mahesasuri Devi	16 10	8 3	
J	Ganesa, son of Siva ...	11 9	7 9	
K	Hanumân, facing to West	10 7	6 3	
L	Do. facing to East	10 4	5 6	
M	Bhairava, son of Siva	10 6	6 6	
N	Tortoise incarnation of Vishnu ...	12 8	8 11	
O	Fish incarnation of Vishnu	13 7	3 8	5 6
P	Nâga with expanded hood	12 0	8 0	
R	Lingam and Argha ...	13 6	8 4	

The last of these sculptures is hewn out of the solid rock, and apparently does not belong to the group of detached sculptures, as it lies away from them to the south, and is pointed in a different direction. The whole group is known as Râwan, or Râwan-ka-patthar.

A is the central lingam around which the other sculptures are grouped.

C is the bull Nandi on the east with face turned towards the lingam.

D is the largest of all the sculptures, and represents the goddess Durggâ standing, with ten heads, ten arms and ten legs. In her five right-hands she holds a sword, a thunderbolt, a club, a trident and a shell, and in her left-hands a human head, a bow, a discus and two objects not identified. On the pedestal under her feet Siva is represented as a *tapasi* or ascetic. The weight of this mass must be about 57 tons.

E is a naked standing figure of Siva with four arms. In his hands he holds a sword, a snake, a trident and a human head, below which there is a dog lapping the blood. In front, towards the lingam, there is a small figure of Ganesa.

F is a two-armed figure of Siva, standing, and holding in his hands a sword and a bowl.

G is a four-armed figure of Siva, standing, and holding in his hands a trident, a sword, a bell and a cymbal.

H is a ten-armed figure of Durggâ killing the buffalo demon. In her hands she holds a sword, a trident, a bow, the demon's head and other objects. This figure stands 80 feet to the west of the central lingam.

J is a four-armed figure of Ganesa seated, holding an axe and a club and canopied by a Nâga.

K and L are a pair of figures of Hanumân which are represented facing in opposite directions.

M is a two-armed figure of Bhairava, the son of Siva, holding as usual a sword in his uplifted right-hand.

N and O are the tortoise and fish incarnations of Vishnu. This pair of figures stand 43 feet to the south of the central lingam.

P is a large Nâga with a pair of small snakes, one on each side.

R is the detached *lingam* and *argha*, sculptured on the solid rock to the south of the group.

The whole of these figures are executed in a very soft and coarse sandstone, which has already suffered much from the

action of the weather. All the larger sculptures are lying on their backs on the ground, and I believe that they were never set up, but were carved in their present positions out of detached blocks.

25.—KELJHAR.

Keljhar is a large village about half-way between Chânda and Mârkanda, and within a few miles of Rajgarh and Mulh. Here I found two small cromlechs or dolmens, which at first I took for kistvaens that had been broken open. On enquiry, however, I was assured that they were temples raised by the *Kurumbár* shepherds. I then remembered that I had seen a much larger one at Mulh, which was undoubtedly a place of worship, as a goat had been sacrified in front of it only half-an-hour before my arrival, and in the presence of several of my servants. This temple was 6 feet long, 4 feet broad and 4 feet high. It was closed on the three sides and open to the east. At the back there was a raised terrace of earth, on which were set up a number of stones smeared with vermillion, each of which was said to be a *Kurmár* Devi. I thought at first that this was the actual name of the goddess; but I now found that it is only the *Gondi* name for the deity of the *Kurumbár* shepherds. These temples are called *Mallána* by the shepherds themselves, and they are generally built in pairs, one dedicated to Mallâna Deva and the other to Mallâna Devi. There was a second small cromlech at Mulh close beside the large one. The Kurumbârs sacrifice a goat to the Mallânas to save their flocks from tigers and murrain. The shrines are generally open to the east, but sometimes they are completely closed for the purpose of keeping the sacred stones, which represent the Mallâna deities quite safe. The two temples at Keljhar have not been used for a long time, but those at Mulh are much frequented. Beside the sacred stones I saw a number of wooden figures, which were said to be the offerings of sick people, generally small-pox patients, to avert death. I was also told that men who are killed by tigers or snakes are buried under similar dolmens raised on low mounds, on which the relatives place rude representations of horses.

I find that Meadows Taylor had already guessed that these cromlechs were most probably temples, and not tombs.

for he notes,—"they do not, *so far as I have opened them*, contain funeral remains, and therefore *may have been temples, or altars* only, for the performance of sacrifices or other ceremonies."

The actual graves which I have seen are mere cairns or barrows covered with pottery horses. The temples of the Mallâna deities are cromlechs. Both kinds are found all over the country to the south of the Narbadâ beyond the Gond area The Gonds themselves call the two Mallâna deities Kurmâr Pen and Kurmâr Devi, and speak of them with something like contempt. But their own demon-worship is much the same. Between Chândá and Keljhar there is a broad tract of thick jungul covering the slopes of the Mulh range of hills. At Chânda the mass of the people are still Gonds, but on passing this belt of jungul to the east, we come at once upon a different race, who call themselves Telingas and speak Telugu. To the west of this line amongst the Gonds there are none of these remains; to the east in the vicinity of Mulh I heard of fifteen villages which are said to have two cromlechs each: and "at Chamursi, to the east of the Wen Gangâ river, there is a group of twenty cromlechs or kistvaens."

In the accompanying plate I have given a sketch of the two cromlechs at Keljhar.[1] They are of small size, being only 2 feet 7 inches square inside, and perhaps about the same height originally, but the earth had accumulated about them, so that the more perfect one is only 1 foot 8 inches high at the back above the ground. This one stands on the top of a little mound about 2½ to 3 feet high, and 40 feet diameter. The smaller one is on the slope. The covering stone is 4 feet 2 inches long by 1 foot 9 inches broad.

26.—RAJGARH.

Râjgarh is a large village on the road between Chânda and Mârkanda. It possesses an old temple of Mahâdeva which, though small in size, is interesting for its details, as it is generally in very good preservation. It consists of a sanctum 13 feet 3 inches on the outside, with a half open pillared hall in front, 21 feet 6 inches square[2]. The temple is dedicated to Mahâdeva, whose lingam is enshrined inside.

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[1] See Plate XXV.
[2] See Plate XXVII.

The entrance is to the east. The hall or *Sabha mandapa*, is surrounded by a low wall on which stand ten short pillars of the same design as the four taller pillars in the middle. The shafts of these four middle pillars are ornamented with chains and bells. Their capitals have the same pinched necks which are so common at Mârkanda and Bhândak. They are quite plain, excepting only the figure of a hooded cobra on the face of each of the cruciform brackets. The cobra is also sculptured on the brackets of the Nandikeswar temple at Mârkanda, but I do not remember seeing a single example of this kind at Bhândak. The erection of the temple is, of course, attributed to the magic powers of Hemâd Panth. There is no inscription, and I could not find even a single letter or mason's mark on any of the stones. The style is however the same as that of the Mârkanda temples, and the roof of the sanctum is a pyramid rising in steps exactly like the pyramidal spires of the Das-Avatâr temple at Mârkanda, which will be described presently.

27.—MARKANDA.

Mârkanda is the name of the principal temple of a group situated on a rocky point on the left bank of the Wen or Venya Gangâ river about 40 miles to the east of Chânda, and 90 miles to the south-east of Nâgpur. Here the river is fordable, being about 2 feet deep, with a clear broad stream running rather rapidly over a firm sandy bottom. The little village is named Mârkandi. It was once a large place on the open plain to the west, but the frequent inundations have driven most of the people away, and there are now not more than 20 occupied houses.

The principal temple takes its name from Mârkanda Rishi, but it is dedicated to Siva, whose lingam is enshrined in the sanctum. Nothing whatever is known about the building of the temple, nor are there any inscriptions to give a clue to its age. The same story is told of this temple as of all others in Nâgpur and Berar, that they were built in a single night by Hemâd Panth. To him is ascribed the erection of all the temples at Bhândak, and I was assured that all the temples, even as far as Kâsi-Benares, had been built by him. According to my informant, Hemâd Panth was the son of a learned Brahman. The story of his birth is the same as that which is told of Lakshmaniya Raja of Gaur.

When his mother's confinement drew near, the time was said to be unlucky; so she ordered her attendants to delay the birth by hanging her up by the feet with her head downwards, until the lucky hour arrived. She was at once taken down, and then gave birth to Hemâd Panth, but died herself immediately afterwards. Hemâd became learned in every science, and more especially in medicine. When Vibishana, the brother of Râvana, was sick, Hemâd cured him, and the grateful patient told him to ask a boon. Hemâd asked for the aid of the Râkshasas to build temples whenever he might require them. The boon was granted; but on the condition that the Râkshasas were not to work for more than one night at a time. Accordingly with their aid Hemâd Panth built all the temples at Mârkanda, Bhândak, and other places between the Ganges and Godâvari. I was further told that Hemâd was the "same person who is called Pratâp Rudr in the Telinga country of Orangul (Warangal)." Now Pratap Rudra is a well-known historical personage, who lived in the 12th century, and he was certainly not a Brahman as Hemâd is always said to have been in accordance with his title of *Panth*.

The temples are enclosed in a quadrangle 196 feet long from north to south and 118 feet broad[1]. There are upwards of twenty of them of various sizes, which are grouped around the great central fane of Mârkanda Rishi. Some of these are in complete ruin, and others are very small; but the whole taken together forms, perhaps, the most picturesque group of temples that I have seen. They are neither so large nor so many in number as the Khajurâha temples, but they are equally rich and elaborate, both in their ornament and in their sculptures. There are no inscriptions to tell their age; but their style is so similar to that of the Chandel temples of Khajurâha and other places, that there can be little doubt that they belong to the same period of the 10th and 11th centuries, A. D.

The wall of the quadrangle has a very primitive appearance, and is probably much older than any of the present temples. It is nine feet high and three feet nine inches thick at base, with sloping sides crowned by a rounded coping stone two feet thick.[2] The main entrance is on the south, but there are two side entrances, one towards the river

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[1] See Plate XX for a general plan of the Mârkanda group of temples.
[2] See Plate XXVII.

on the east, and the other on the west towards the village. These two are mere openings in the wall, but the southern entrance though small, is a two-storeyed building with a pair of pillars, both inside and outside. The upper storey is an open room with eight pillars intended for the use of the musicians.

The following list of the Mârkanda temples shows their names and sizes, and the gods to whom they are dedicated. Many of them are so small and unimportant as to require no further description :—

	Name.		Size.			Enshrined figure.
			′ ″		′ ″	
A	Mârkanda	...	73 7	×	55 3	Siva lingam.
B	Nandikeswara	...	38 3	„	38 3	Do. with bull Nandi.
C	Mûrkanda	...	36 3	„	27 6	Do. with two Nandis.
D	Jodh Ling	...	10 2	„	6 7	Ditto.
E	Mritunjaya	...	18 6	„	10 0	Ditto.
F	Yama Dharmarâja		14 9	„	10 0	Ditto.
G	Umâ Maheswara	...	16 0	„	10 0	Ditto.
H	(Ruined)	...	9 0	„	9 0	Ditto.
J	Râj Râjeswara	...		...		Ditto.
K	Nâg Rishi	...	7 8	„	7 2	Hanumân.
L	(Ruined)	...				
M	Koteswara	...	23 8	„	14 8	Siva lingam.
N	Dharmasâla	...	13 8	„	10 0	Hall for ascetics.
O	(Ruined)	...	6 3	„	6 3	
P	Siva ...	...	6 6	„	6 6	Siva lingam.
Q	Nameless	...	7 0	„	6 6	Ditto.
R	Do.	...	7 6	„	5 0	Ditto.
S	Ganesa	...	10 0	„	7 0	Ditto.
T	Isveswara	...	14 6	„	14 6	Ditto.
U	Siva ...	...	16 6	„	16 6	Ditto.
V	Mamleswara	...	11 0	„	11 0	Ditto.
W	Bhimâ Sankara	...	24 0	„	24 0	Ditto.
X	Das Avatâr	...	79 0	„	11 0	Incarnations of Vishnu.
Y	Dwârka Pillar	...				

On entering by the southern door, the path leads between two rows of small temples and past several curious old square pillars, which are apparently much more ancient than any of the temples. Nearly all of them are sculptured, and some of them are inscribed. The chief figures are soldiers, armed with battle-axe, bow and quiver full of arrows, in an attitude of attack. On one pillar I noticed the sun and moon

above an illegible inscription. As these emblems are generally found on Sati pillars, I have a suspicion that most, if not all, of these pillars are memorials of Satis.[1] When the deceased was a soldier, he was sculptured with his arms; and if he died in battle, he was represented fighting.

A.—The temple of Mârkanda Rishi is by far the largest of the group, and is also the most elaborately sculptured. About 200 years ago it was struck by lightning, when the upper part of the massive spire was hurled down on to the roof of the Mahâ Mandapa which was broken in, and at the same time a small temple marked H in the plan, was utterly destroyed. The roof of the hall was repaired about 120 years ago, but in a very rude manner, by one of the Gond Rajas, whose architect introduced huge piers with radiating arches inside the principal room.

The temple consists of an entrance porch on the east, leading into the great hall, which has also two side entrances on the north and south, each covered by a porch. Beyond this is the *antarâla* or antechamber leading into the *sanctum*, both of which are old work. Inside there is a lingam of Siva, with a *mukuta*, or cap of brass, surmounted with five human heads, under a canopy of five snakes' hoods.

The general style of the Mârkanda temple is like that of the Khajurâha temples, with three rows of figures all round, two feet three inches in height. In each of these rows there are 45 human figures, making 135 in the lower part of the temple. Higher up than these there is a row of geese, and a row of monkeys, and above these are four more rows of human figures. The whole surface of the temple is, in fact, literally covered with statues and ornaments. Altogether I counted 409 figures; and there are about half as many lions and elephants forming divisions between the human statues. About one-half of the panels are given up to Siva and Pârvati in various forms. There are also many subordinate female figures, some dancing, some playing musical instruments, and one holding a mirror, while putting antimony to her eyelids. Several of the statues of Siva are naked, and so are some of the female statues; but they are simply nude figures without any suggestive indelicacy, such as is only too prominent in the obtrusive bestiality of the Khajurâha sculptures. The attitudes of the figures are generally easy, but

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[1] I have since met with similar pillars in other places, which are undoubted Sat memorials.

there is invariably the same passionless expression in all the faces; and Siva has just the same calm features when he is caressing Pârvati, as when he is trampling an enemy to death.

On the jambs of the south door is inscribed the name of "*Magar-dhwaj Jogi, 700.*" A similar record is incised on temples at Bilhari and Amarkantak, as well as in Bihar. The number of 700 is most probably intended for the date of his visit; but it certainly cannot refer to either the Vikramaditya or Saka era, as the characters are comparatively modern. The earliest date that I would assign to the writing is about A. D. 1000; and if referred to the Chedi Samvat, the date will be about A. D. 950. The temple itself may be as old as the beginning of the tenth century, as it rivals in richness of sculpture and luxuriance of ornamentation the great temples of the Chandel Kings Yaso Varmma and Dhanga, who reigned from A. D. 925 to 1000. A glance at the mouldings of the plinth in the accompanying plate will show the great variety and beauty of form which the Hindu architect lavished without stint on this fine temple.[1] One is surprised to find such a rich and costly building in the wilds of Central India.

B.—The temple of Nandikeswara faces the Mârkanda temples on the east, the two entrances being 10½ feet apart. It is, as its name implies, a shrine for the Bull Nandi, which is one of the usual adjuncts of the temples dedicated to Siva. This shrine is an open pillared hall, 24 feet square, with a projecting portico of seven feet on each of the four faces. There are four pillars on each side, two in each portico, and four in the middle of the hall for the support of the pyramidal roof. The outer pillars are 6 feet high and 16 inches square at base, but the inner pillars are 19 inches square. They are well-proportioned, but comparatively plain, the only ornament being a hooded cobra on each face of the bracket capitals.[2] There is however a row of *guttæ*, or drops, pendent from the cornice all round, which gives a very rich effect to the otherwise plain mouldings. Inside there is a figure of the Bull Nandi.

C.—The second temple in size is named after *Múrkand Rishi,* who is said to have been a brother of Mârkand. It consists of a hall two-thirds open, a small anteroom and a

[1] See Plate XXIX.

[2] See Plates XXVI and XXIX, for a plan and a pillar of this temple.

sanctum. The hall is 27 feet 6 inches by 25 feet outside. In front there are four short pillars standing on a low wall, with a door in the middle. On each side there are two similar pillars and one pilaster forming two-thirds of the side length of the hall, the remaining third being closed by a wall. In the middle are four richly carved pillars for the support of the pyramidal roof.[1] Over the sanctum rises the usual lofty spire curving in towards the top, and crowned with two amalaka fruits one above the other. The spire is square in plan with the corners indented, and at each of the four angles at the neck of the pinnacle is placed the figure of a bearded Rishi with matted hair. The spire is nearly perfect, and is a very graceful specimen of Indian architecture. The temple is dedicated to Siva, as shown by the lingam placed in the sanctum, and the two figures of the Bull Nandi in front of the *antarâla*, or antechamber.

D.—This small temple of 10 feet by 7 feet contains a symbol of Siva named *Jodh-Ling*, regarding which I could not obtain any information. The entrance is to the east.

E.—This is another temple dedicated to Siva as *Mritunjaya*, or the "conqueror of death." It contains the usual lingam in the sanctum, with figures of Ganesa and Vishnu in the hall, and a small figure of Ganesa over the entrance to the sanctum. The temple is 18½ feet long by 10 feet broad, and faces the east. On the left jambs of the door there is engraved a curious account of some measurements, of which I have not yet been able to unravel the meaning. The whole of the writing is given in the accompanying plate.[2] There are two columns of figures, one on the left hand having reference to *dharini*, or "the earth," and the other on the right to Gangâ, or the river Wen Gangâ, which flows past the enclosure. I read the different entries as follows:—

Dharinî gaj	... 714	Gangâ ...	... 12
Bhâbhu	... 314	Gangâ ...	... 60
* * *	... 286	Gangâ ...	... 124
Eta gaj tâ tu	... 1314	Gangâ Sainpalana	... 196

Below this last line there is a rude sketch of a man's head, with the left arm holding a book. It will be observed that both sets of figures are totalled up below, the sum of the three left-hand numbers being 1314, and that of the three

[1] See Plates XXVI and XXIX for a plan and a pillar of this temple.
[2] See Plate XXIX for a pillar, and basement section of this temple.

right-hand numbers 196. I can only make a guess that they may refer to two different classes of offerings which the owner of the rudely-sketched head may have made to the temple.

F.—This is the only temple that I have met with dedicated to *Yama*. As he is called *Jam-dharmrâj* by the officiating Brahman, there can be no doubt that it is the god of the lower world who gives his name to the temple, although there is only a lingam of Siva enshrined inside. On each side of the door of the sanctum there is a very richly carved group of Siva and Pârvati. This temple is placed exactly opposite that of *Mrityunjaya*, with its entrance facing the west. It is 16 feet long by 10 feet broad, being only a little less in length than the other. The two temples are clearly connected by position, and I conclude that the intention of the builder was to represent Siva in the two-fold capacity as *Yama*, or "death," and as *Mrityunjaya*, or the "conqueror of death" by reproduction.

G.—the temple of *Umá Maheswara* is another Saiva fane, *Umá* being only another name for Pârvati.

J.—*Râj-râjeswara* is a simple lingam without any traces of a temple.

The remaining temples with the single exception of X, do not require any particular destription, as they are all dedicated to Siva under different names, and contain lingams.

X.—The temple of the *Das Avatâr*, or ten incarnations of Vishnu, is an open cloister, 75 feet long by 7 feet wide inside, placed against the western wall of the enclosure. It is divided into twelve compartments by pilasters, two of the divisions being probably intended for statues of Vishnu, and the remaining ten for the *Avâtârs*. In front of the eight middle divisions there are seven pillars resting on a low wall, as shown in the accompanying plate,[1] the two divisions at each end being closed by a wall, with a door leading into the first and twelfth compartments. Outside there is a continuous projecting cornice running the whole length of the building, above which rise twelve pyramidal spires, being one separate roof for each of the twelve shrines. One of these is represented in the plate.[2] In each division there is a pedestal, but several of them are now empty. There are two tortoise incarnations, one flat, and one upright. The boar

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[1] See Plate XXVI.
[2] See Plate XXVIII.

incarnation is also in its place. The Narsinh-Avatâr has been taken inside the Mârkanda temple; and the Kâlki-Avatâr is lying outside broken. All the other incarnations have disappeared, unless, perhaps, the naked Jain-looking figure may have been intended for the *Bodh-Avatâr*. I searched in vain for inscriptions which might have given a clue to the age of this temple. I am satisfied that it is older than any of the Saiva temples which I have just described, and I am inclined to look upon it as a part of the original enclosure, and to assign it to a period two or three centuries earlier than the date of the lingam temples. There is a similar arrangement at Garhwâ, where a long cloister was dedicated to the Avatârs of Vishnu, long before the erection of the lofty detached temple to Siva. In this case we know positively from the inscriptions on both statues and temple that the former are at least two centuries earlier than the Siva fane. Almost every where the worship of Vishnu appears to have prevailed from the seventh to the tenth century, when it was forcibly supplanted by the more fashionable worship of Siva's lingam.

I have already noticed in their proper places the short inscriptions which are found on the pillars and door-jambs of the temples. There are similar records also on the rocks, but they are too much injured to be legible. All of these are of middle age, ranging from the middle of the tenth century down to 1500 A. D. But on two of the old square monoliths there are characters of a much more ancient date. On one of them there are only three letters remaining, *pra-yá-Sri*; but these are sufficient to show that the pillar cannot be later than the fifth or sixth century.[1] The letters are near the top of the stone, and below there is a male figure with four arms, carrying a battle-axe, and attended by two females. A snake encircles his waist, which may perhaps serve to identify the figure with Siva; but there is no other trace of that god, so far as I could see.

A second square monolith with a moulded capital is inscribed on three faces.[2] Its characters are somewhat older than those of the other pillar, say of the sixth or seventh century. The two lines on the left face of the pillar apparently form a distinct record, of which the latter half of the second line is in much smaller characters. The main record

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[1] See Plate XXX, fig. 5, for a copy of these three letters.
[2] See Plate XXX, fig. 1.

begins at the top of the middle face with the words "*Swasti Sri.*" Several of the letters are rather doubtful; but they appear to me to read somewhat as follows :—

Middle face.
1.—Swasti Sri Samyidha
2.—jna Chila badra chigi
3.—posa dhi ha * lu ma
4.—* budhi suchandra sishya
5.—nta Chaitriyama sute

Right face.
1.—* * bra * *
2.—* thu la * *
3.—nya dha di yaga
4.—ma yi badi nga bra
5.—Sata di * * ba

Apparently this last inscription on the right face, which is in much larger letters, has no connection with that on the middle face. I can make nothing of them; but so little is lost that I believe the whole may be deciphered by a competent Sanskrit scholar.

28.—GONDS OR GAUḌAS.

The country of the Gonds received from the Muhammadans the convenient name of Gondwâna. But the actual districts occupied by the Gonds did not comprise more than one-third of the wide region of Muhammadan writers, which included all the wild tracts of Central India lying between Kândês and Orissa. The true Gond country is the long table-land which gives rise to the Tapti, the Wardâ, the Wen Gangâ, and the Narbadâ, and comprises the districts of Betul, Chhindwâra, Seoni, and Mandala. In ancient times this territory would appear to have been called *Gauḍa* or *Gauṛ*, the "western" *Gauḍa* of Wilford. In A. D. 1042 *Gauḍa* formed part of the dominion of Karna Deva, Raja of Chedi. In A. D. 812 Karka, Râshtrakuṭa, Raja of Lâṭeswara, saved the king of Mâlava from the kings of Gauḍa and Gurjjara. About A. D. 780, or one generation before A. D. 808, the Râshtrakuṭa Râja, named Paura, invaded Maru [the country of Vatsa Raja] who was "intoxicated with the wealth of the king of Gauḍa." In A. D. 606 Râjya Vardhana, the king of Kanauj, invaded Mâlava with 10,000 horse, and killed the king; but was himself slain by Gupta, king of Gauḍa. From all these notices we learn that the territory of *Gauḍa* must have bordered on Chedi and Mâlava, as well as on the country of the Râshtrakuṭa, Princes of Berâr. All these

requirements are most satisfactorily met by the position and limits of the country actually inhabited by the Gonds, or Gondwâna proper, which must therefore have formed part of the ancient Gauḍa, or the western *Gauṛ*.

The name of *Gond* is simply a corruption of Gauḍa. In the nothern Gauḍa, or Uttara Kosala, the chief town is still named *Gauḍa*, which the Muhammadans before us corrupted to Gonda. On the finger-posts leading to the place, the Nâgari गौड़ *Gauḍa* and the English *Gonda* are placed side by side. I spent several months in the Central Provinces, and I never once heard the aborigines called *Gond*, but always *Goṛ*. Now, as *Gauḍa* is a pure Sanskrit word, it would seem that this was not their true name, and that it must have been derived from the country in which they dwelt. This appears the more probable when we learn that they do not call themselves either *Gond* or *Goṛ*, but *Koïtur*. It is also strongly confirmed by the fact that there are no Gonds in the northern Gauḍa, or Uttara Kosala, and none in the eastern Gauḍa or western Bengal. This being the case, it follows that, when Gauḍas are mentioned, the name does not *necessarily* refer to the aborigines now called Gonds, but *may* belong to the rulers who held the country of Gauḍa at the time; as in the instance of Karna Deva, the Kulachuri ruler of Chedi, who calls himself also king of Gauḍa.

This conclusion, however, refers only to the rulers of the country, and not to the bulk of the population, which even in the time of Ptolemy would appear to have been the aboriginal Gond. In his day the large district at the head of the *Nanaguna*, or Tapti River, was occupied by the *Kondali* or *Gondali*, a name which has been generally identified with that of the Gonds. But their country is described as *pars Phullitarum*, the *Phullitæ* themselves being placed more to the north. I take this name to be a pure Greek one, φυλλιταί, descriptive of the "leaf-clad" aborigines. Varâha Mihira notices the *Parna-Ṣabaras*, or "leaf-clad Sauras"; and we know that the Juangs of the present day still preserve this primitive costume. I believe therefore that there may have been *Parna Gauḍas*, or "leaf-clad Gonds," in the time of Ptolemy, and that these are the people intended by his Phullitæ-Gondali.

My explanation of Gauḍa as a geographical term which gave its name to the Gond people, instead of having received it from them, is still further confirmed by the fact that

numerous temples which are said to have been built by the Gonds, were certainly not erected by them. Thus the temples at Dudahi, Chandpore, and Deogarh, all in the Lalitpur district, have been attributed to the Gonds. But this assignment is quite impossible, as we know from their inscriptions that at the time they were erected the country was possessed by the Chandels of Mahoba. The same assertion is made about Gaṛha near Jabalpur, to which may be given a similar answer that the country was then possessed by the powerful Kulachuri Râjas of Chedi-des. I suspect that these erroneous statements have originated in the accessions of rubbish which in later times have been shot into the Prithirâj râyasa of Chand. In that poem there are three passages which, as they at present stand, are undoubted anachronisms that must have been foisted into the text by some copyist at a much later date. At the breaking out of the war between Prithirâj Chauhân, and Parmâl Chandel of Mahoba, the Chandel bard, named Jagnik, was sent to Kanauj to induce the two Banâphar heroes, Alha and Udal, to return to Mahoba for the defence of their country. Alha replies to Jagnik—

Suni Jagnik, yeh bât sunâni,
Hamayharâj kochhu nahi jâni;
Ham sir bândhi Mahoba rakhiv,
Nrip Chandel jugal mukh dik khiv;
Ham mare baṛ Gauṛa, Deogarh, Chândâ-wâre,
Ham Jâdo kari juddh ghâr Chandel udhâre;
Ham Kaṭhariya kaṭi Parmâl des dal,
Ham kotik kari bân luti line sabke bal.

Here the Banâphar chief consents to return to Mahoba, and then, after the fashion of the Homeric heroes, boasts of his own exploits—

"We conquered the whole of Gauḍa, Deogarh, Chânda; we fought with the Jâdon and saved the Chandels; we cut off the *Kathariya* for the sake of Parmâl, and plundered every king around."

In the same strain he continues his anachronisms—

Ham âge Pâtisâhi phôj bhâgi das bârah—

"Before us the Padshahi army ten and twelve times fled."

Mewât mari padhar kariya Antarbed dahâiyo,
Banghel mari basudhâ hari garh Chandel lagaiyo—

"We harried Mewât and frightened Antarbed; we plundered the Baghel, and brought his wealth to the palace of the Chandel."

In another passage the minister of Prithirâj addresses his master—

Kânan suni *Chahüân* kahe barday mantr gati,
Pratham des *Parimâl* rahyo Jasrâj senipati;
Gaṛha jay nrip lâgi pari *Gauḍan* son jangah,
Paryo jâl Chandel ḍali dharni-dhar angah;
Rokiyo seni ari seni sab kâm maran dhiran dhariya,
Kheliyo vyâl bin sîs dhar kâm jay phateh kariya;
Gaṛha nagar Chandel suniyo,
Gaudasu mile juddhtaji hiyo;
Bhâgi seṇi dekhi Jasrâjah,
Dinhon sis swamike kâjah;

The pith of this long story is simply that Parmâl invaded *Gaṛha*, and was defeated by the *Gaudas* (Gonds), but was saved by his general Jasrâj, who lost his life in defence of his master.

In a third passage is described the fight between Udal Banâphar and Kanh Châuhân, the brother of Prithirâj: the latter is made to say—

Tabe Kanh bolyo mahâ ros hoë,
Suno nand Jasrâjke bât soë;
Jhân *Gauṛ* nahi *Gaṛha* mari jâno,
Awe Kanh Chauhân son juddhṭhâno.

"Then said Kanh in a great rage,
"Hear, O son of Jasrâj, it is not the Gauṛ of Garhâ whom you conquered, but Kanh Chauhân with whom you have to fight."

In these three passages the *Gauḍas of Gaṛha* are most probably intended for the Gonds, as *Gaṛha* was their capital some centuries later. But it is absolutely certain from the Kulachuri inscriptions of Tewar, only a few miles from Gaṛha, that in Samvat 1239 or A. D. 1182, when Prithirâj defeated Parmâl, the country of Chedi, of which Tewar was the capital, was still in the possession of the Haihaya Kulachuris. Deogarh and Chânda were also two well-known capitals of the Gonds in later days; but it is very doubtful whether Deogarh was a separate principality in the time of Prithirâj; and it is quite certain that both places were beyond the reach of Alha and Udal, as the territory of the Kulachuris of Chedi, extending along both banks of the Narbada, lay between the Chandels and the Gonds. My impression is that the popular canto of Chandel's poem called the *Mahoba-khand* or *Alha-khand*, in which the conquest of

Mahoba is related, has been largely interpolated by the Chandel bards, and that to them we are indebted for the mention of *Gaṛha*. It is quite possible that *Deogarh* and *Chanderi*, the two great forts on opposite sides of the Betwa, may have fallen into the hands of the Kulachuris of Chedi after the death of Kirtti Varmma, and that they were recovered by Alha and Udal. In later times this exploit was magnified into the capture of the more distant forts of Deogarh and Chânda, to the south of the Narbada, and the Gauḍa of Western India was held to be the country of the Gonds of Gaṛha. In favour of this explanation is the fact that the Kulachuri Haihayas of Chedi had fought with the Chandels of Mahoba during the reign of Madana Varmma, only a few years before the accession of Parmâl. In the Mhau inscription it is said of Madana Varmma, "from whose name even the king of Chedi, vanquished in the fierce fight, ever quickly flees." We know that Gauḍa was in the possession of Karna Deva of Chedi in the end of the eleventh century, and I am not aware of any reason for supposing that it had passed out of the hands of the Kulachuri princes during the following century. If by the Gauḍa of Gaṛha we are to understand the aboriginal Gonds, then the statement is clearly an anachronism; but if we may accept it as referring to the Kulachuri Haihayas as kings of Gauḍa and Gaṛha, then the passage may remain unchallenged. But in this case the two forts of Deogarh and Chânda must be identified with the two great forts of Deogarh and Chanderi, on the opposite banks of the Betwa, in preference to the two more distant forts of Deogarh and Chânda to the south of the Narbada.

By identifying the country of the Gonds with the Western *Gauḍa*, we get a glimpse of their history in the very beginning of the seventh century. The account is given in Bâna's Harsha Charita, of which notices have been published by Professor Hall and Dr. Bhau Dâji. The earlier portion of the story is given by Professor Hall as follows[1] :—

"Râjyavardhana [the elder son of Prabhâkara Vardhana, king of Kanauj], by command of his father, made an expedition to the north against the Hûra-Hûṇas [this must have been in A. D. 606.] Harsha [his younger brother] followed him. While hunting on the skirts of the Himâlayas, a domestic Karangaka brought intelligence that the king was critically ill. Harsha hastened back, and was just in time to

[1] Bengal Asiatic Soc.'s Journal, XXXI, p. 3.

see him expire. On the very day of Prabhâkara Vardhana's decease, Grahavarman was massacred by the king of Mâlava, who also threw Râjyasri into chains. This took place at Kanauj.

'Grahavarman, son of Avantivarman, of the Maukhara family, was husband of Râjyasri. As we do not find it stated distinctly that the king of Mâlava had aggressed on Kanauj, we should understand, it may be, Grahavarman owed his death to the son of that sovereign, who, it is said, was staying at the Kanaujan Court. Apparently, he was there in the character of hostage; and perhaps he received the assistance of troops from his home unexpectedly.

"Râjyavardhana, taking with him Bhaṇḍin, a subject of high rank, by whom his education had been superintended, and an army of ten thousand horses, marched to attack the king of Mâlava. Him he slew; but his own fate was defeat and death at the hands of Gupta, king of Gauḍa, of which the news was brought back by Kuntala, a chief officer of cavalry. Sinhanâda and Skandagupta, the generalissimos, urge Harsha to make reprisals; and they lose no time in embarking on the enterprize.

"The account of Harsha's progress towards the south-east I omit. Before he could reach Gauḍa, Bhaṇḍin arrived with spoils of the Mâlavas. Enquiries were at once made for Râjyasri. She had escaped from Kanauj, and fled towards the Vindhya mountains. Thither Harsha directs his steps. He is visited by Bhûkampa, a military retainer to some local dignitary, Vyâghraketu, son of Sârabhaketu. These names, by-the-bye, seem to be coinages suggested by the fancied fitness of circumstances. Bhûkampa knows nothing of Râjyasri's present quarters, and recommends that Harsha should seek for information at the neighbouring hamlet. She is discovered when on the very point of burning herself."

The latter part of the story is given by Dr. Bhau Dâji as follows[1] :—

"Râja Harsha having entered the wilds of the Vindhya mountains, travelled in all directions for many days for the discovery of his sister, Râjyasri. He met a chief named Vyâghraketu, son of Sârabhaketu. He introduced to the king Nirghâṭa, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bhûkampa Ṣabaras. The king made inquiries of the Ṣabara Chief regarding Râjyasri; he replied that no woman answering to the description given by the king was known to have been seen in his jungles, but promised to make vigorous efforts for her discovery. He remarked that at the distance of two miles, on a hill with a thick wood at its base, there resided, with a number of disciples, a Bauddha Bhikshu, a mendicant (Pindapâti) named Divâkaramitra, who might possibly have heard of Râjyasri. Hearing this the king thought that Maitrâyaṇîya (Brâhmaṇa)' Divâkaramitra, the friend of Grahavarma, having abandoned the "way of the Vedas," in his youth put on brown clothes and embraced the Saugata creed. King Harsha, taking the Ṣabara Chief with him, proceeded to the abode of Divâkaramitra. He admired the mountain scenery on the way, and got down from his conveyance on

[1] Bombay Asiatic Soc.'s Journal, X, p. 39.

approaching the hermit's residence. Having placed his hand on Mâdhavagupta's shoulder, he with a few chiefs walked on. He found there followers of various schools, *viz.*, Vitarâgas, Arhantas, Maskarins, Svetapatas, Pâtarabhikshus, (commentator), (in the text, Pâṇḍuribhikshu), Bhâgavatas, Varnins, Keśalunchakas, Kâpilas, Kâṇâdas, Aupanishadas, Aiśvaras, Karanins, Kârandhamins, Dharmaśastrins, Paurâṇikas, Saptatantavas, Sabdas, Pâncharâtrikas, and others. He also met Divâkaramitra Bhikshu, and made him obeisance. Divâkaramitra seeing the king, said, 'To-day our austerities have even in this life borne us good fruit by giving us a sight of the beloved of the gods; at the expense of my own body, I am ready to do the king's business.' The king made inquiries regarding Râjyasri. It so happened that Râjyasri was at this time making preparations for self-cremation. An old female companion of Râjyasri went to a disciple of Divâkaramitra and said, 'O mendicant! Pranrajyâ (the vow to abandon all worldly enjoyments) is generally full of mercy to all beings, and Sangatas (Buddhists) are ever intent on fulfilling the vow, to suffer themselves for the relief of the sufferings of others. The teaching of the Lord Sâkya Muni is the family abode of mercy, the goodness of Jina is ever ready for the benefit of the whole world, and the religious law (*dharma*) of the Munis is a way of securing future bliss. There is no meritorious action more praised in the world than that of saving life. Pray, therefore, prevent my companion from destroying herself by fire.' 'My Guru (Master)' said the disciple, 'is verily a second Sugata (Buddha); when I relate to him this account, he is sure to come. He is full of pity. By the good words of Sugata, calculated to pierce the dark veil of sorrow, and by his own discourses, with illustrations culled and rendered weightier from the various Âgamas (scriptures), he would lead the good-natured lady to the path of knowledge.'

"Accordingly a Bhikshu (mendicant) came and said,—'A woman in sorrow is ready to destroy herself by fire, not far from this abode.' Hearing this, the King, with Divâkaramitra, proceeded quickly, followed by the King's retinue, to the place of the fire. With great difficulty she was persuaded to abandon her purpose, and they having succeeded in consoling her and soothing her sorrows, treated her to a dinner. The Raja heard all that had happened from the time she was put in confinement in Kânyakubja, and from which she was released by a descendant of the Gupta kings. She then heard of the death of Râjyavardhana, her eldest brother, on which she left off food and drink, and wandered through the woods of the Vindhyas. Overcome with sorrow, she made preparations to burn herself. All this the King heard from her attendants."

From this account we learn that Prabhâkara Vardhana, after having conquered and killed the King of Mâlava, was himself defeated and slain by Gupta, King of Gauḍa. It is clear, therefore, that Gauḍa could not have been far from Mâlava. But in the account of Prabhâkara Vardhana's death given by Hwen Thsang, it would appear that it was instigated

by Sasângka, the King of Kirna-Ṣuvarna.[1] Professor Hall has suggested that his full name may have been Sasângka Gupta; but I learn from Dr. Bühler, that in the Jain books Sasângka is called Narendra Gupta. Putting all these statements together, it would seem that Sasângka, or Narendra Gupta, must have been the king of *Gauḍa* as well as of *Kirna-Suvarna.* From his inscription cut on the rock of Rohitâs, we know that he had extended his rule northwards as far as that celebrated fortress; and from the different statements which I have just quoted about Râjya Vârdhana's death it may be inferred that the western Gauḍa was also included within his dominions.

When the news of his brother's death was brought to Harsha, he determined to take revenge, and at once marched towards Gauḍa. But on the way he was met by Bhanḍin with the spoils of the Mâlanas. Up to this point his march is said to have been towards the south-east.[2] After the meeting with Bhandin he proceeded in search of his sister Râjyaṣri, who, after the death of her husband, had escaped from prison and fled to the Vindhya mountains. In his progress he encountered the Bhùkampa Sabaras, an aboriginal race, whose chief is named *Vyâghra-ketu*, "the tiger-demon," son of *Sarabha-ketu*, "the monster-demon." As the general is called Nirghâta, or the "man-slayer," all these names must be accepted as the inventions of the writer, which were considered appropriate for the chiefs of the *Bhúkampa*, or "Earthquake" Sabaras. At the same time they appear to me to be a recognition of the former power of this now despised race. In a subsequent report I propose to give some account of the Sabaras, and to show by their inscriptions that they once had Kings of their own, bearing the title of Gupta. According to the statistics which I have collected, the number of the Western Sabaras at the present day is not less than 120,000 persons.

The *Sabaras* are mentioned in the Aitareya Brâhmana as one of the Dasyu races descended from Viswamitra; and the Mâhabhârata includes them amongst the seven races of Dasyus conquered by the Pândus in the Great War. They appear also in Ptolemy's map in the same two divisions in which they are now found; the Eastern Sabaras as *Sabaræ*, who are the Suari of Pliny, and the Western Sabaras

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang II. 248.
[2] Professor Hall, Bengal Asiatic Soc. Journal XXXI—4.

as *Soræ Nomades.* But the Gonds are not mentioned in any of the old Hindu authorities, and the earliest notice of them that I am aware of is by Ptolemy under the name of *Gondali.*

In the absence of other information we turn naturally to the traditions of the people themselves. Like most other traditions, those of the Gonds are utterly wanting in dates, and extremely vague as to places. But all the leading events are very striking, and from their remarkable similarity to the traditions of other far distant races, they possess an interest and an importance which, without it, would be altogether wanting.

According to the Gond legend, *Lingo* was the leader who liberated the first men of the nation from a cave in *Káchi-kopa Lohagad*, or the "Iron-Valley in the Red Hill." The exact position of this valley is not stated, but it would seem to have been somewhere in the Himâlaya mountains, as Mount Dhavalagiri is mentioned. Mahâdeva is said to have closed the mouth of the cave with a large stone sixteen cubits high. Lingo removed the stone, and "sixteen scores of Gonds" came out of the cave. No meaning seems to be attached to the name of *Lingo*, but in Gondi, *lángyá* means a "wolf," and in Maharathi, *longá.*

According to the traditions of the Mughals, their ancestors were confined in the iron-bound valley of *Irguene-kon*, from which they were delivered by *Burte-chino*, or the "Dun wolf." According to Abulghâzi Khân the ancestors of the *Turks* were liberated from the iron-bound valley of *Irgana-kon* by *Bertezena.* Every year the Khân of the Turks went to sacrifice in the cave of his ancestors in Mount Erkeneh-kun.[1]

Speaking of the ancient Getæ, Strabo remarks that Zamolxis, whom they revered as a god, "retired into a district of caverns." The mountain is held sacred, and is thus distinguished, being named *Kogaiónos.*"

In all these legends we have a hero, the founder of the nation, connected with a cave. In the eastern versions the cave is situated in a valley surrounded by *iron* mountains, from which the founder manages to liberate his people. The resemblance between the tradition of Gonds and that of the Turks and Mughals seems too close to be accidental, and

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[1] Dr. Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, VI. 152. The name of the mountain is variously spelt by different authors—see Gibbon, C. 42, and Prichard's Physical History of Mankind. IV. 337.

if not accidental, it would go far to prove the Turanian origin of the Gonds. Dr. Caldwell and Colonel Dalton both agree in classing the Gonds as Dravidians. But the former specially notes that "whilst he regards the grammatical structure and prevailing characteristics of the Dravidian idioms as in the main Scythian," he thinks that "they are allied not to the Turkish family, or to the Ugrian, or to the Mongolian, or to the Tungusian, but to the group or class in which all these families are comprised.[1] He then points out that "the Scythian family to which, on the whole, the Dravidian languages may be regarded as most nearly allied, is the Finnish or Ugrian," and that this supposition derives some confirmation from the fact brought to light by the Behistun tablets, that the ancient Scythian race, by which the greater part of Central Asia was peopled prior to the eruption of the Medo-Persians, belonged, not to the Turkish, nor to the Mongolian, but to the Ugrian stock."

Dr. Caldwell regards "the Dravidians as the earliest inhabitants of India, or at least as the earliest race that entered from the north-west." He also—

> "feels convinced that the Dravidians never had any relations with the primitive Aryans, but those of a peaceable and frequently character; and that *if they were expelled from Northern India,* and forced to take refuge in Gondwana and Dandakâranya, the great Dravidian forest, prior to the dawn of their civilization, the tribes that subdued and thrust them southwards must have been prœ-Aryans."

But these pre-Aryan-Scythians, by whom he supposes the Dravidians to have been expelled from the northern provinces, are not, "he says," to be confounded with the Kols, Santâls, Bhîls, Dôms, and other aboriginal tribes of the north." By whom, then, were the Dravidians expelled from Northern India? Dr. Caldwell thinks that the Sudras may have been the conquering race.

> "The tribes of Northern India whom the Aryans gradually incorporated in their community as Sudras, whoever they were, must have been an original and formidable race."

Here I agree fully with Dr. Caldwell, that the Sudras were most probably the people with whom the Aryans came into contact in Northern India. But I think that he has unnecessarily hampered himself by supposing that the Dravidians entered from the north-west. On the contrary, I believe that they came from the west, and that they were

[1] Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, 2nd edition, p.p. 70-71.

the Accad or Accadians, a branch of the southern Turanians, who occupied Susiana and the shores of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean including the Delta of the Indus. From these seats they were eventually driven out by the Aryans of Ariana and Persia, when they retired to Southern India, leaving only a remnant of the nation behind in the Brahüi mountains, where they still exist.

Under this supposition the Dravidians may have occupied the greater part of Southern India about the same time that the Aryans took possession of the Panjâb and Aryavarta, while the whole of Northern India was held by another Turanian people, who had entered long before from the north-west. The latter I believe to have been a Medo-Scythian race. Such of them as submitted were allowed to join the Aryan nation as a separate class under the name of Sudras; while the greater number retired to the east of the Karmanâsâ River, where they bade defiance to their enemies for several centuries.

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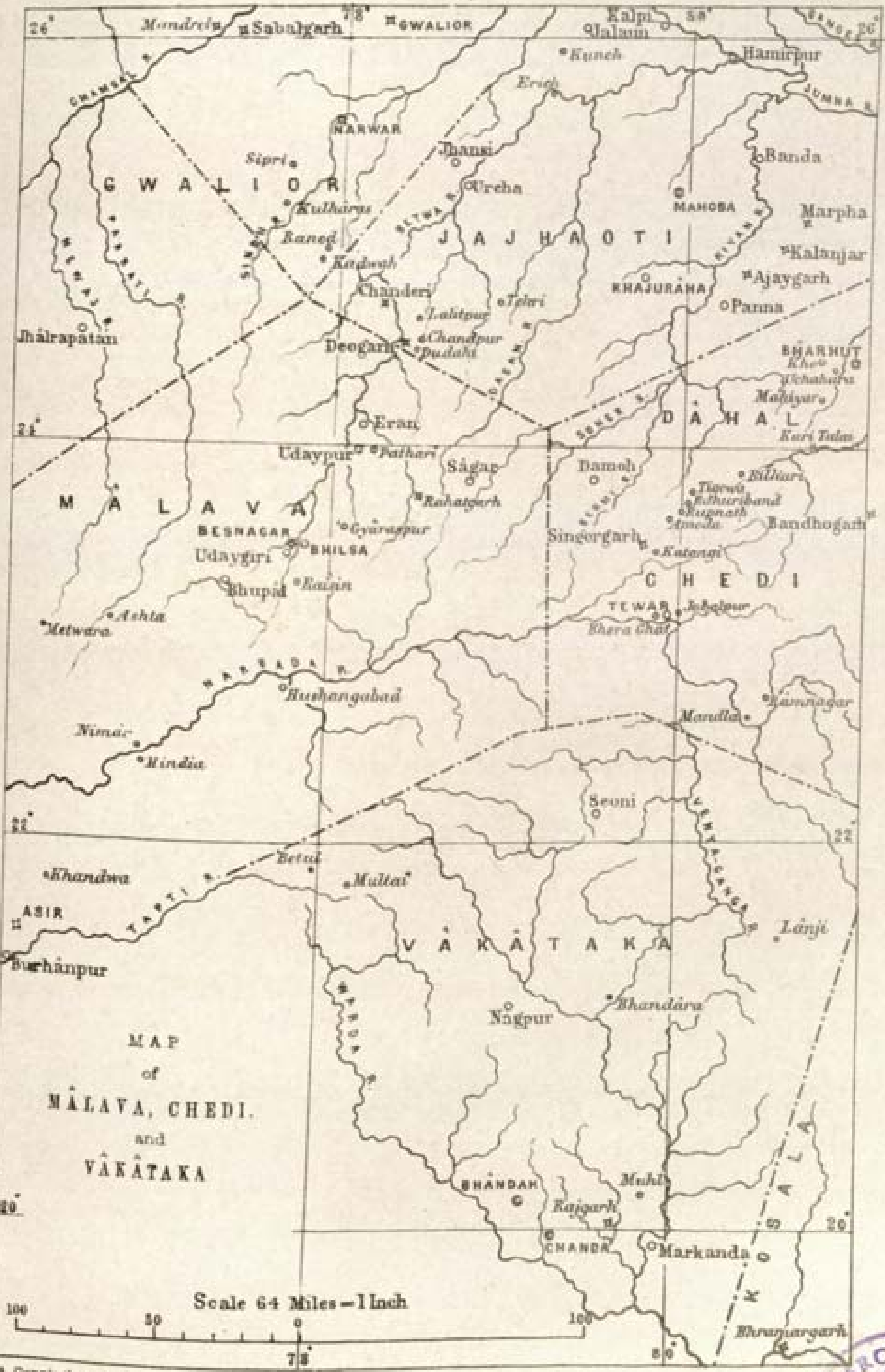

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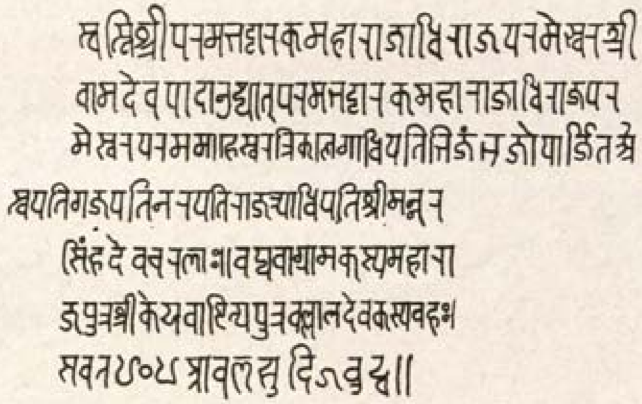

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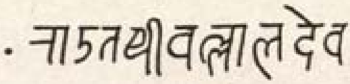

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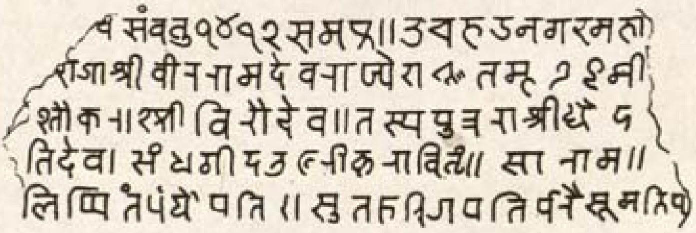

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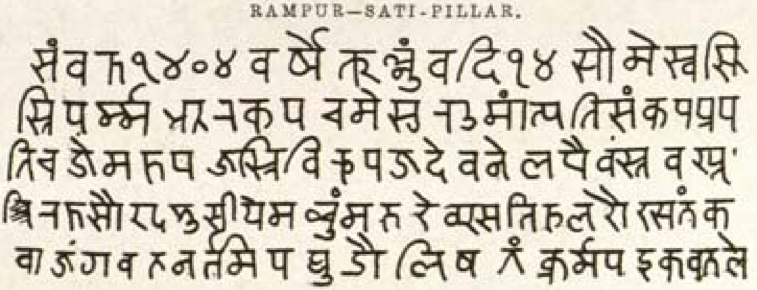

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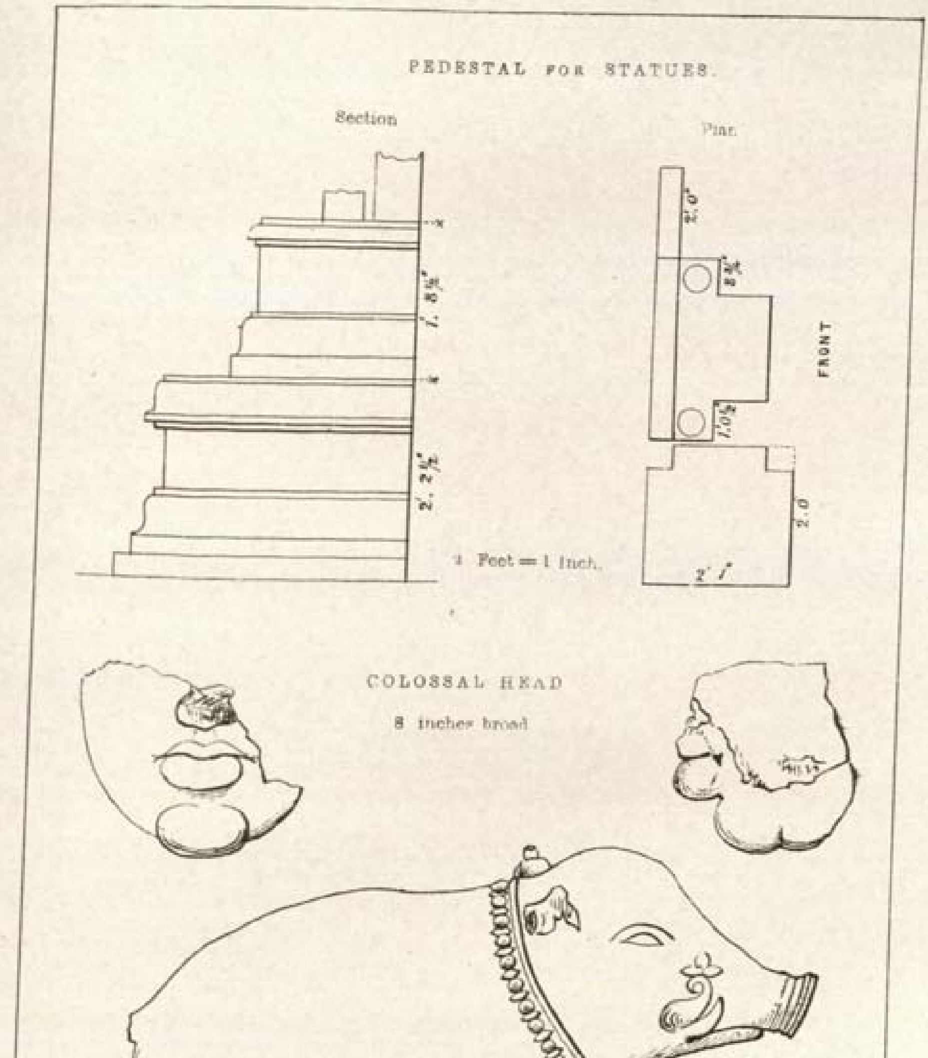

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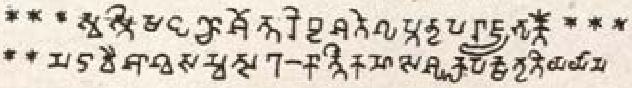

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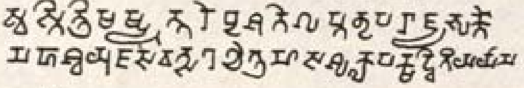

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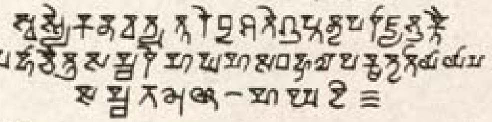

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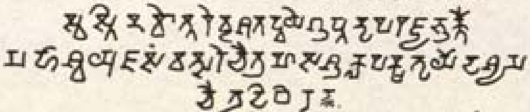

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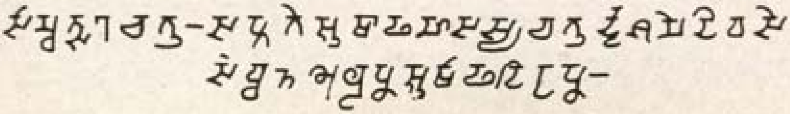

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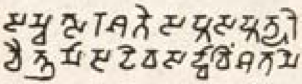

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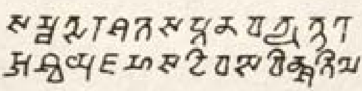

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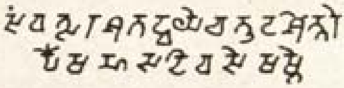

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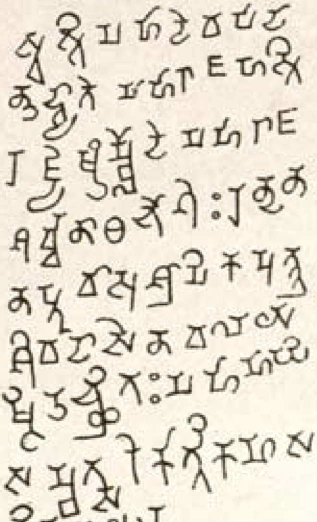

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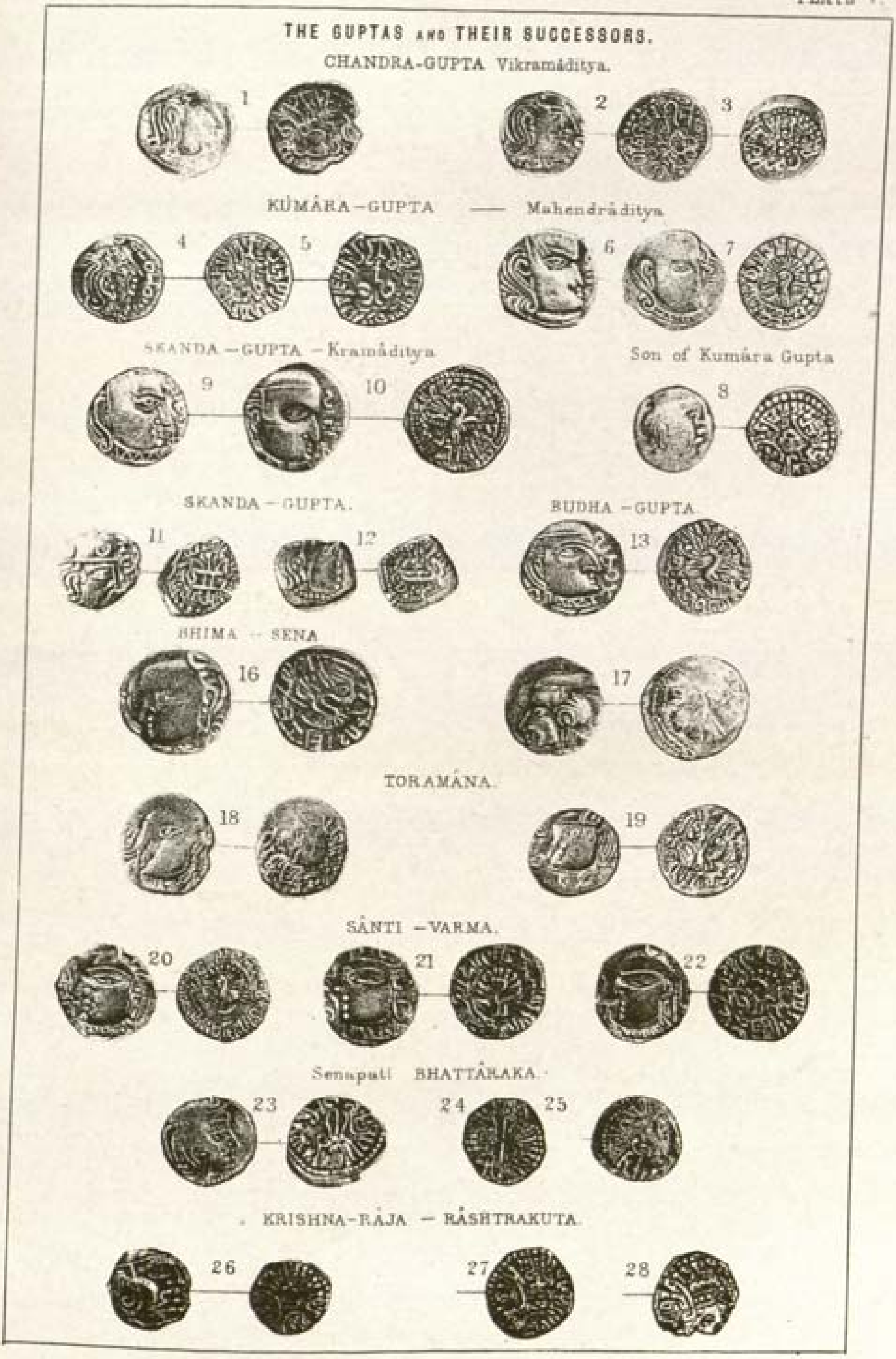
SILVER COINS.

PLATE V.



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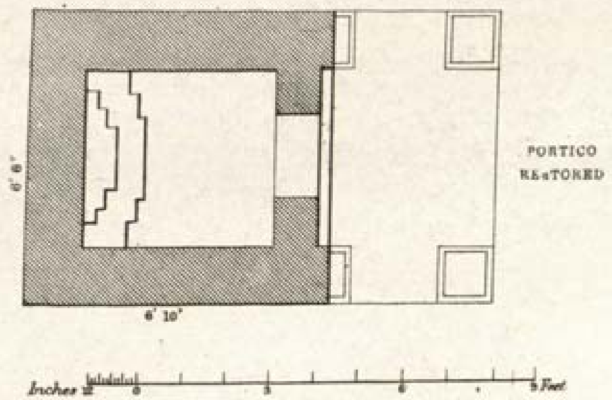
TEMPLE



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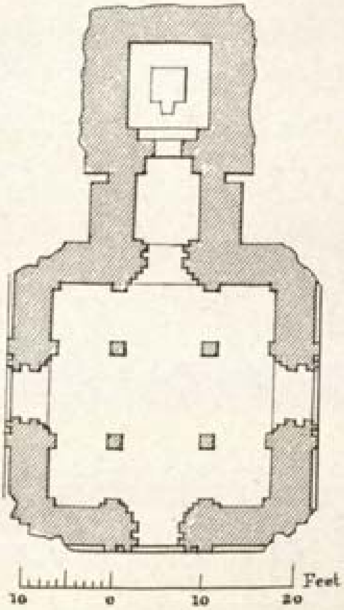
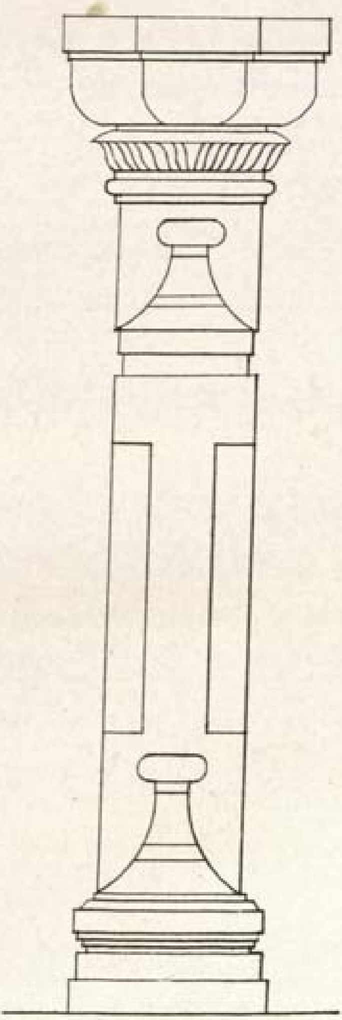
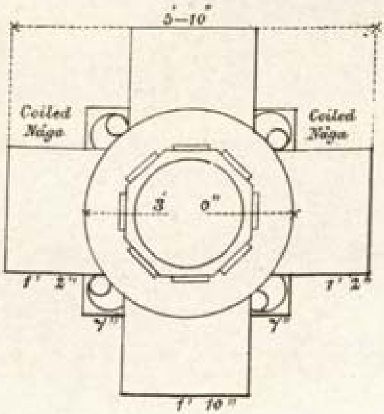
TEMPLE
OF
KÂM-KANDALA.





2 Feet = 1 Inch.

GREAT BRACKET
TEMPLE OF VISHNU.



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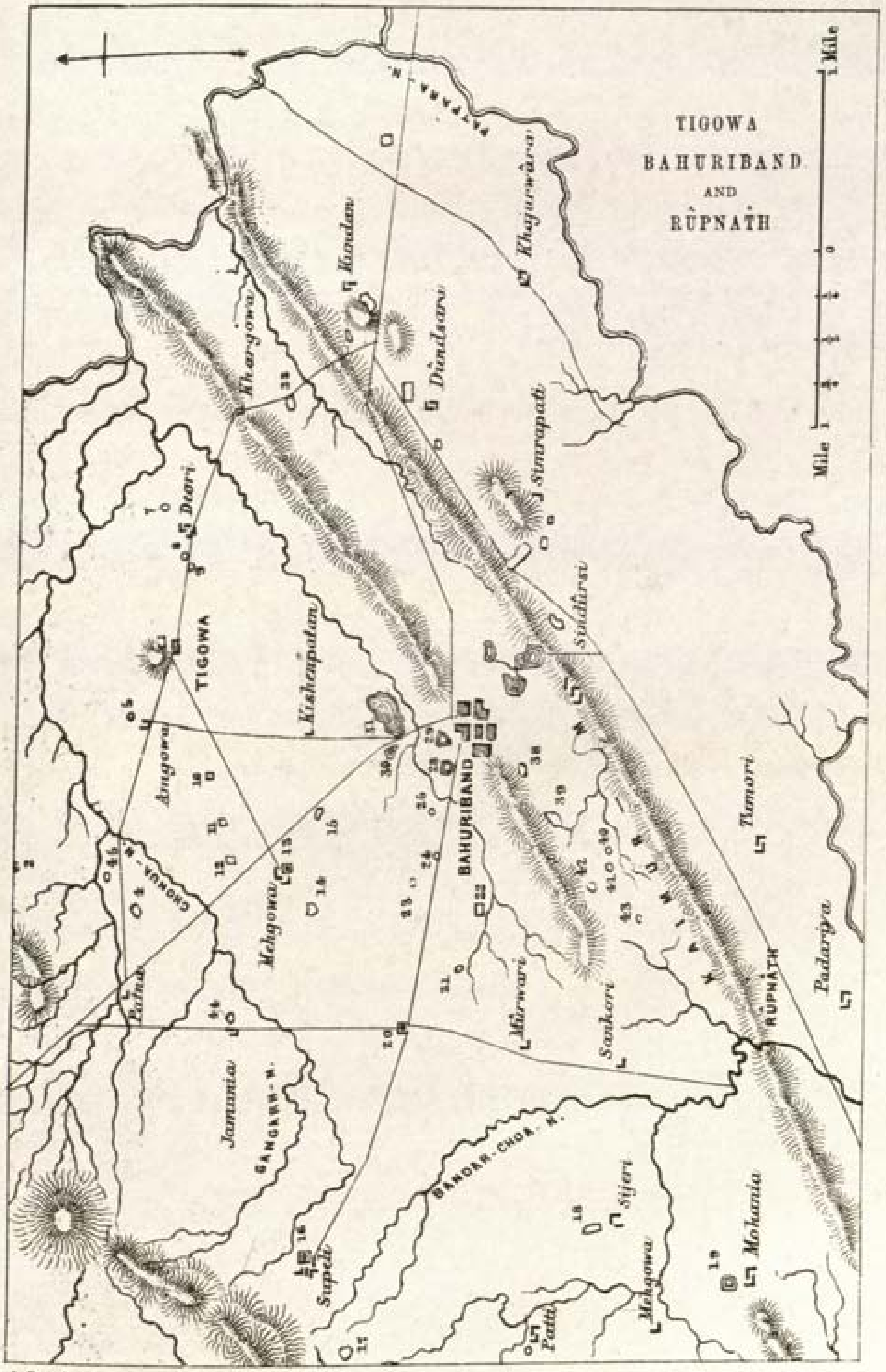

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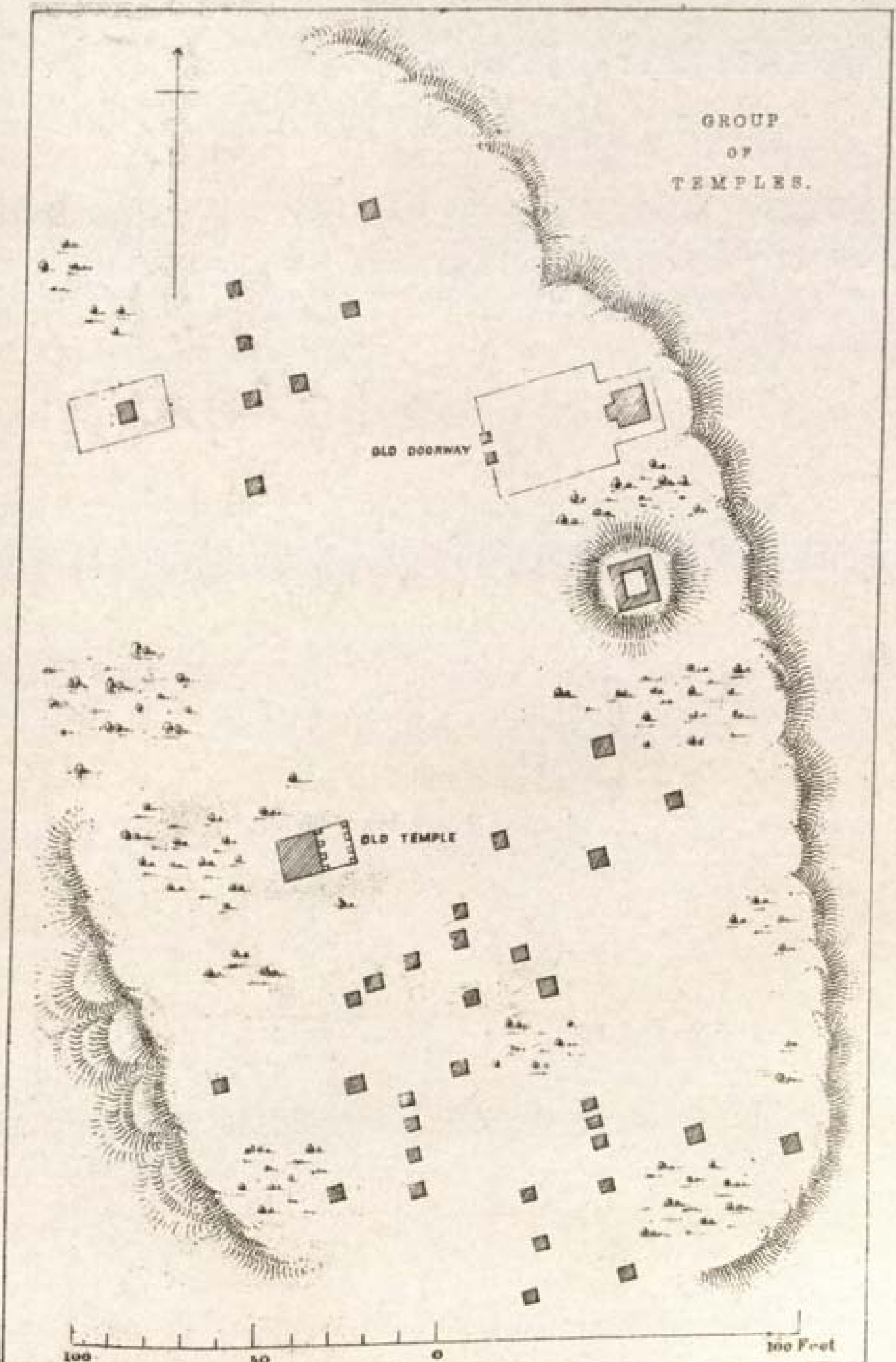

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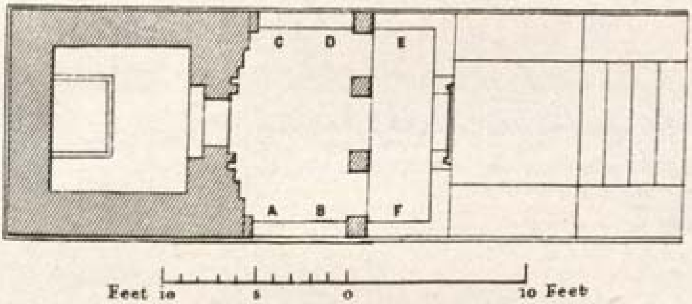
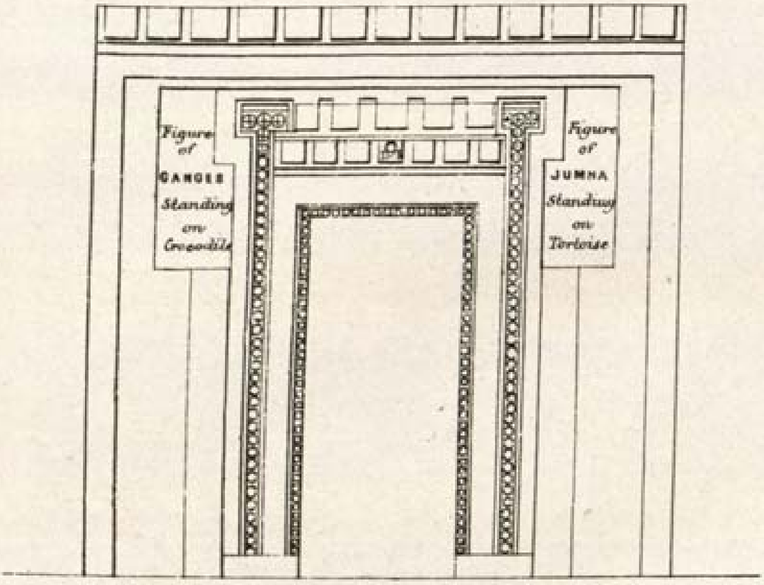
TIGOWA.

PLATE X

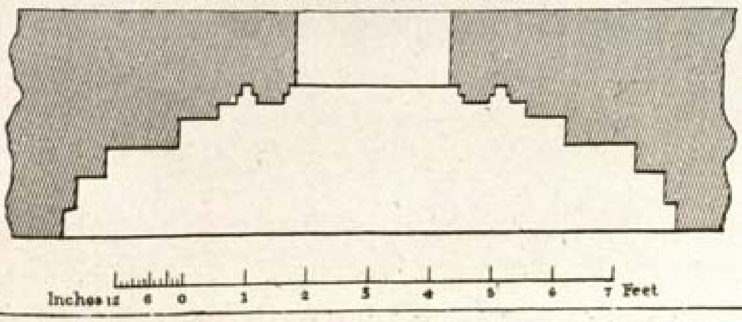
PLAN OF OLD TEMPLE — SHADED.

MEDIÆVAL ADDITIONS — PLAIN.





ELEVATION AND PLAN OF DOORWAY



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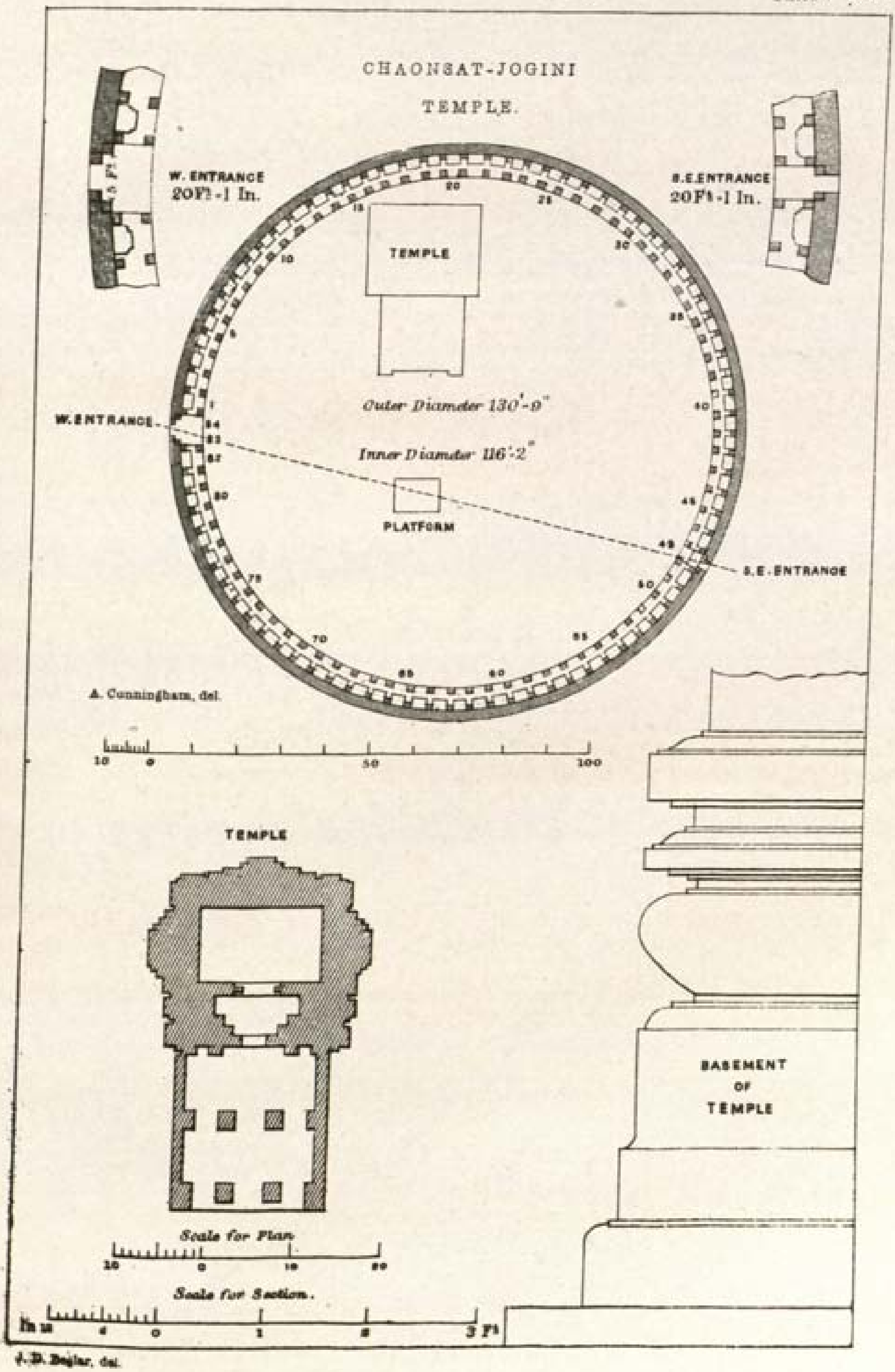

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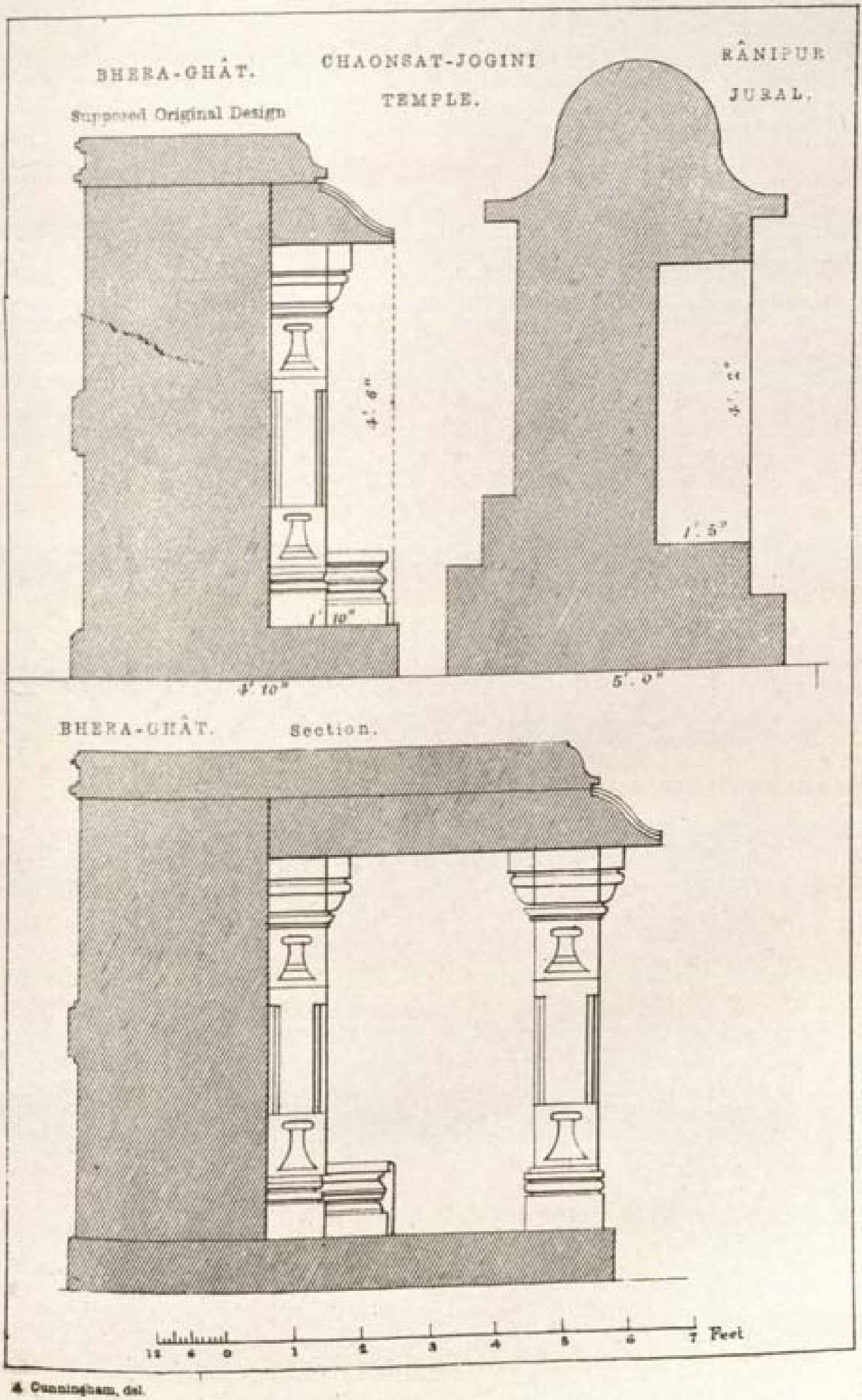

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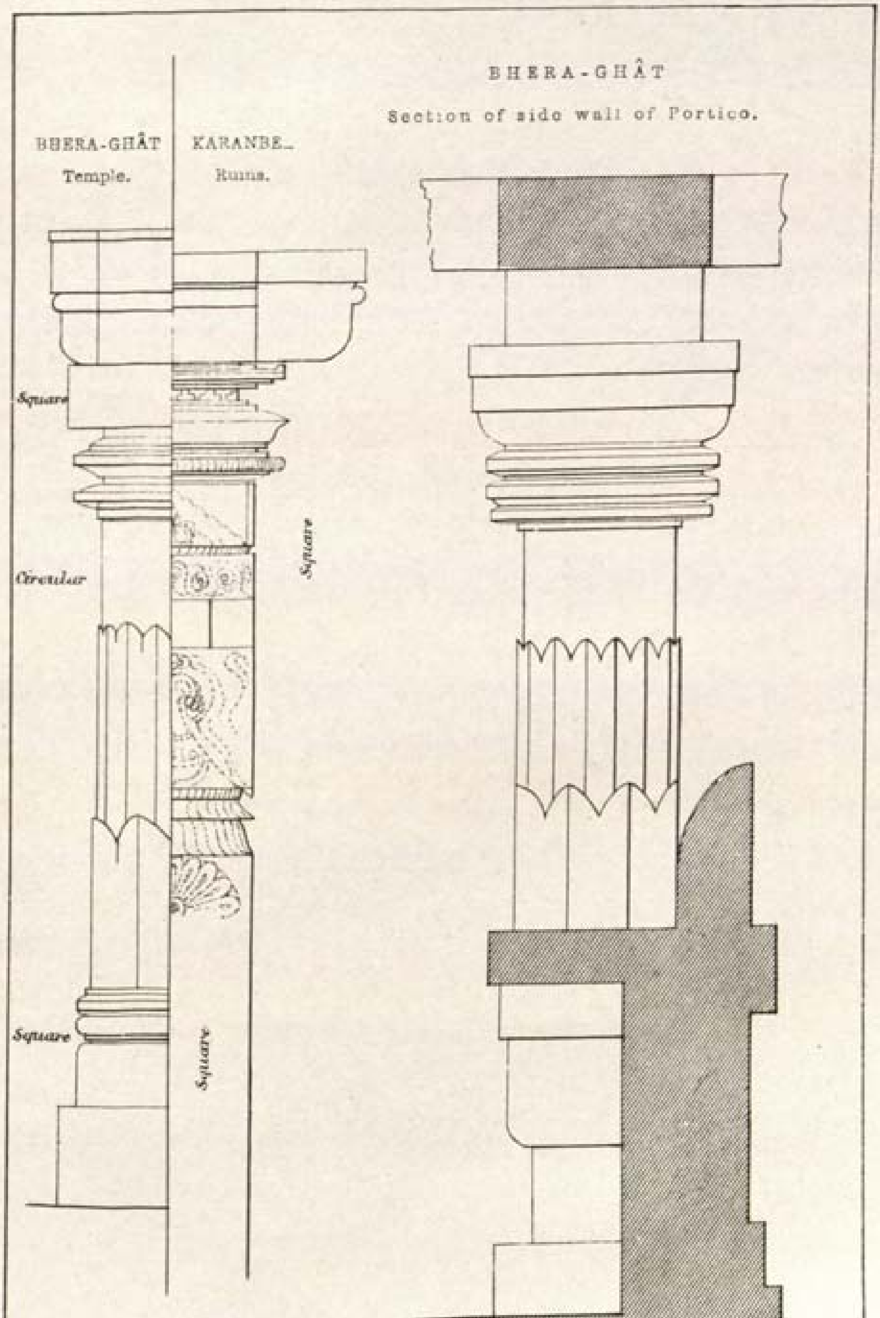

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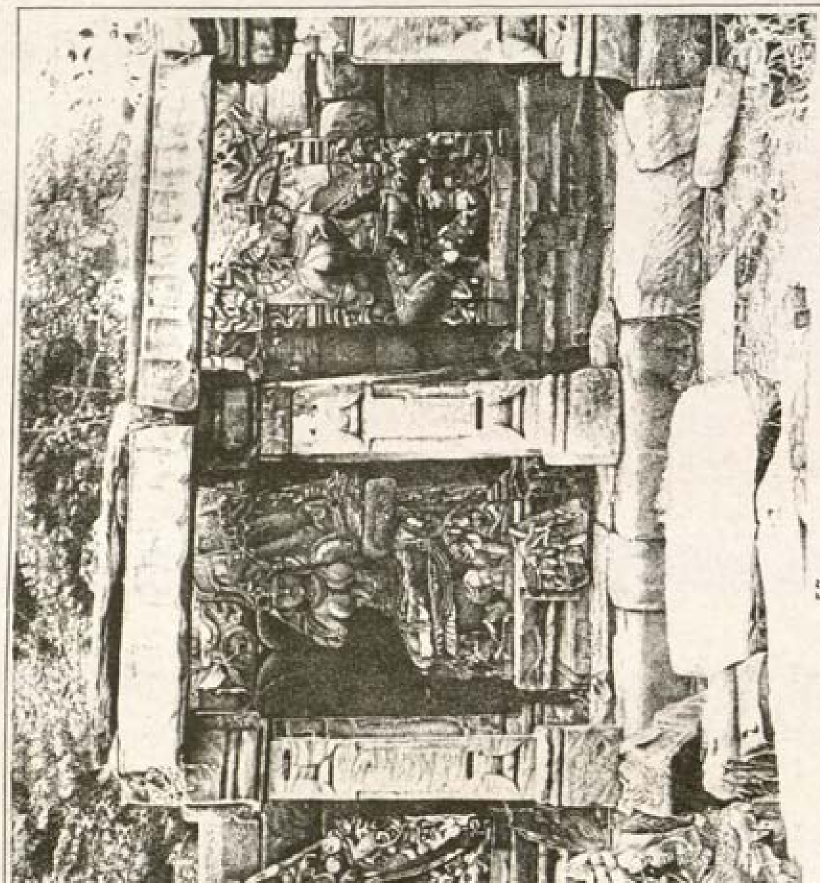
PLATE XV



CHAONSAT-JOGINI TEMPLE

55 Sri Ainggini — 56 Sri Teranta — 57 Sri Pâravi — 58 Sri Vâruvega

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BHERA GHÂT. PLATE XVI.

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BIBI MASJID

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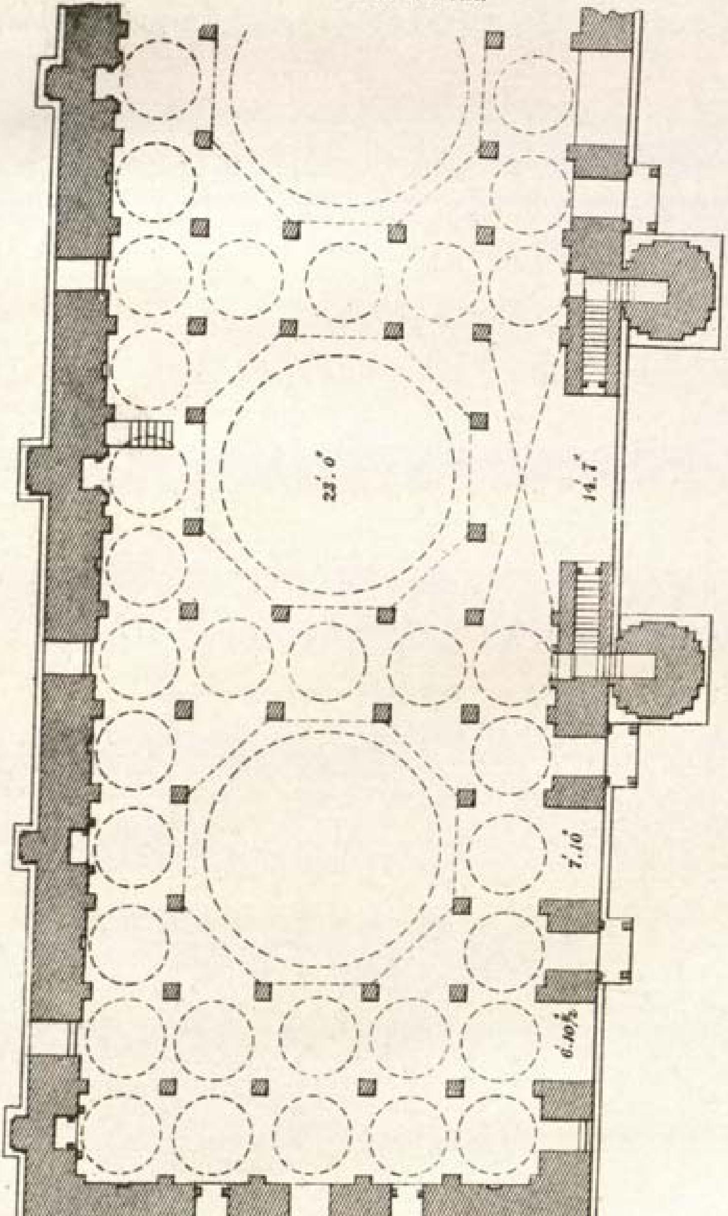

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BURHÂNPUR.

PLATE XVIII.

JÂMI MASJID

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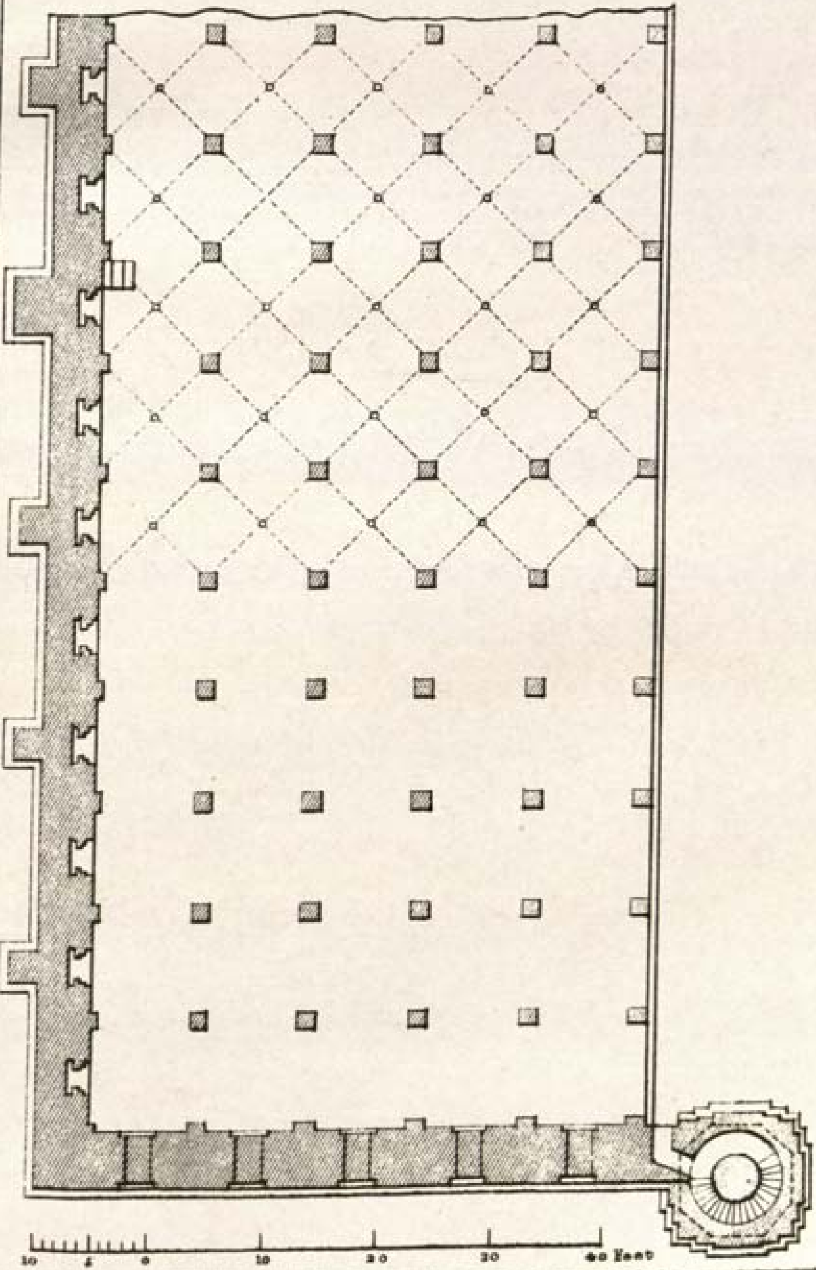

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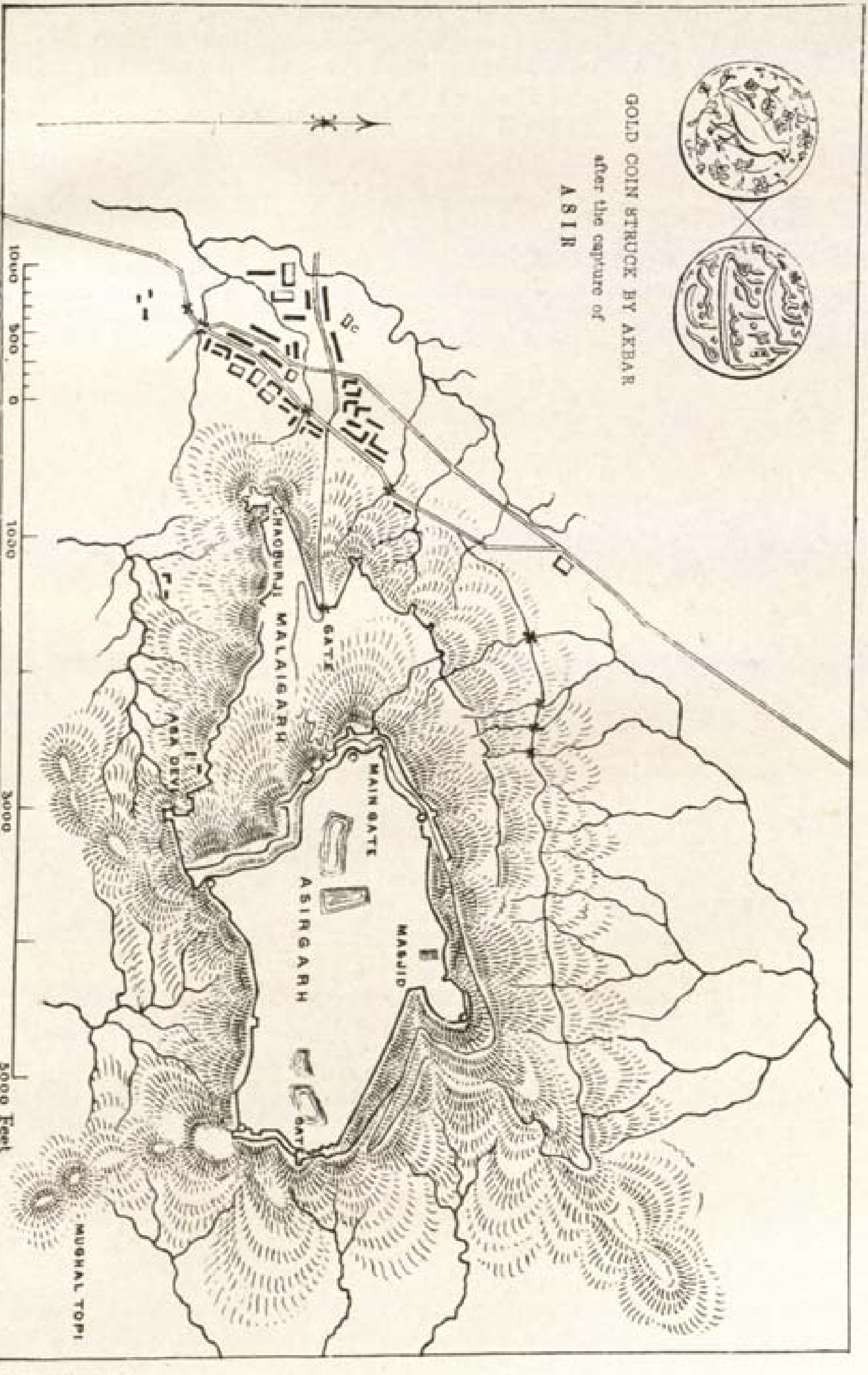

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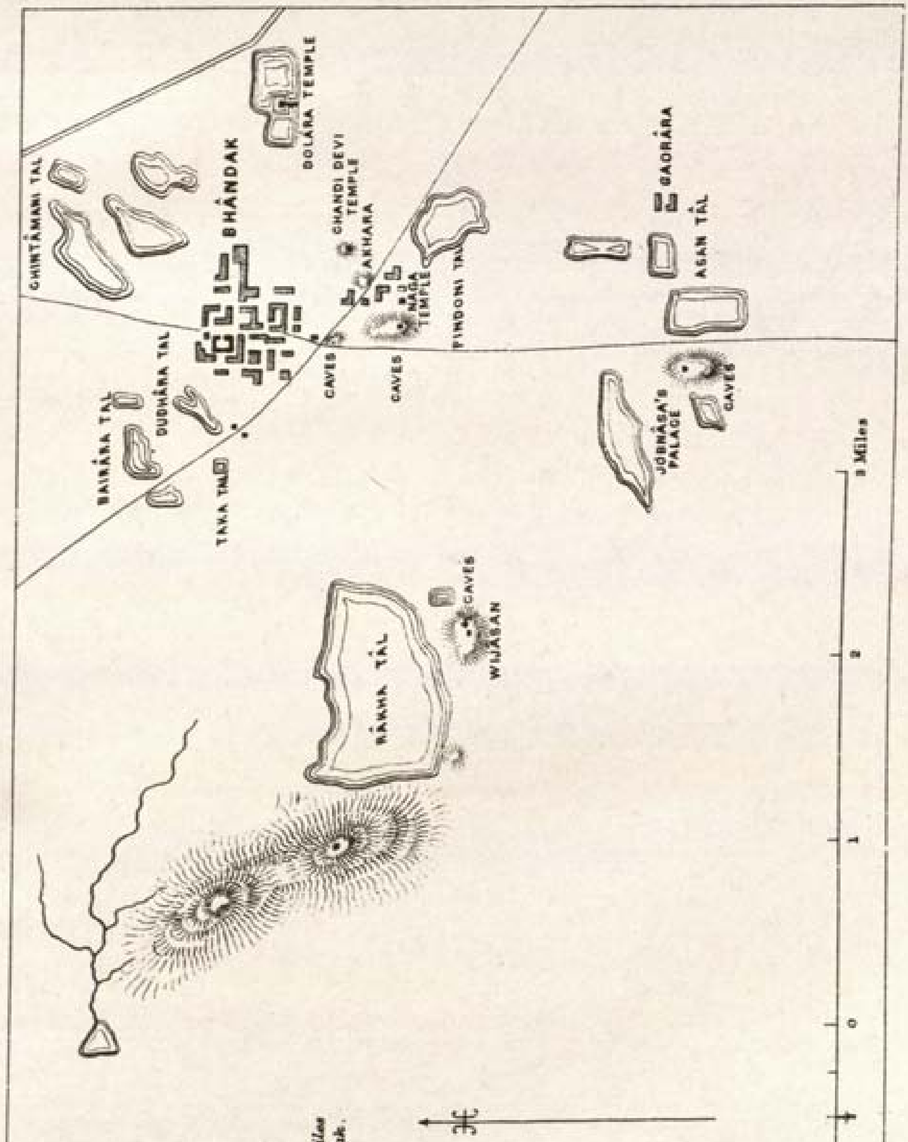

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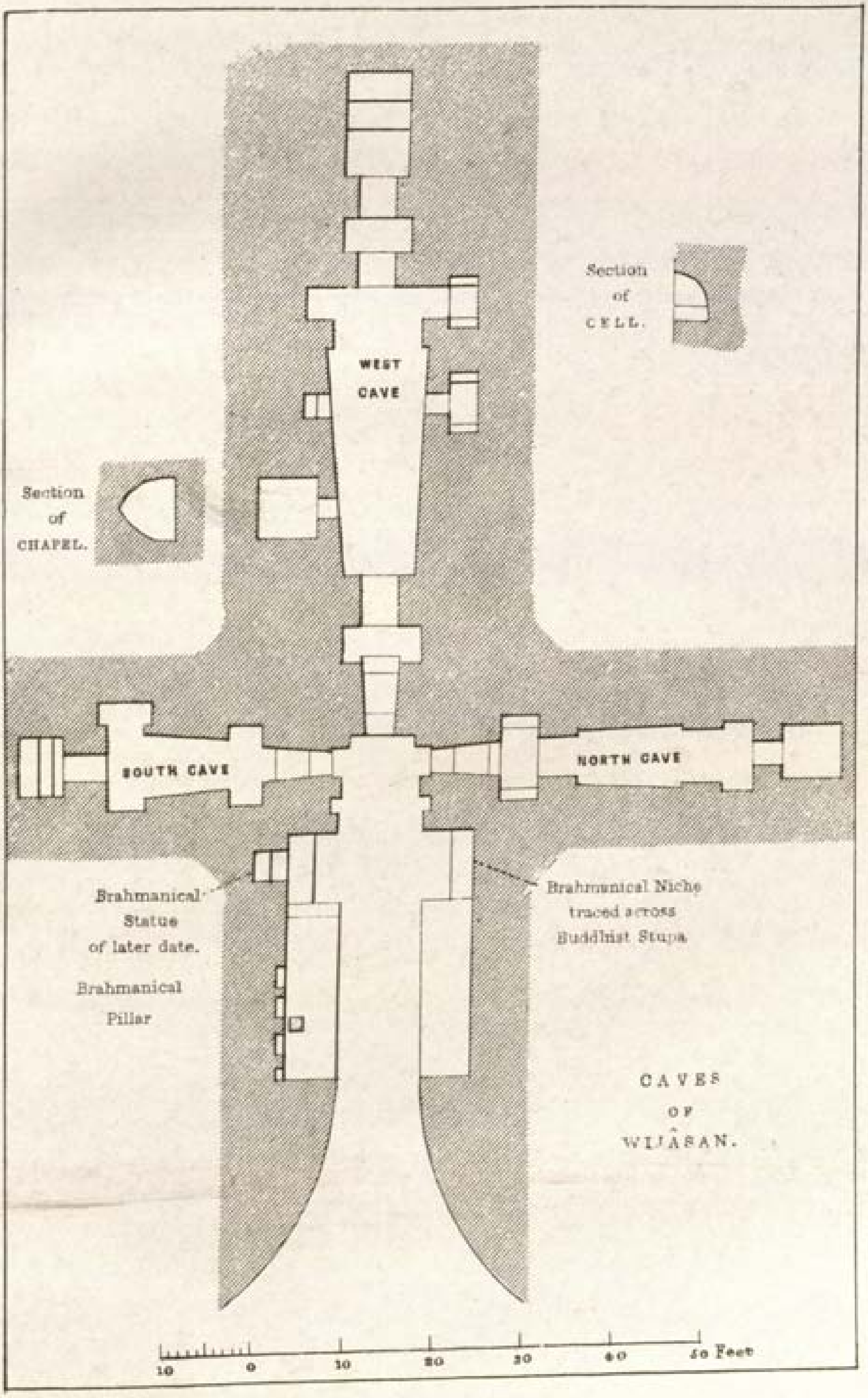

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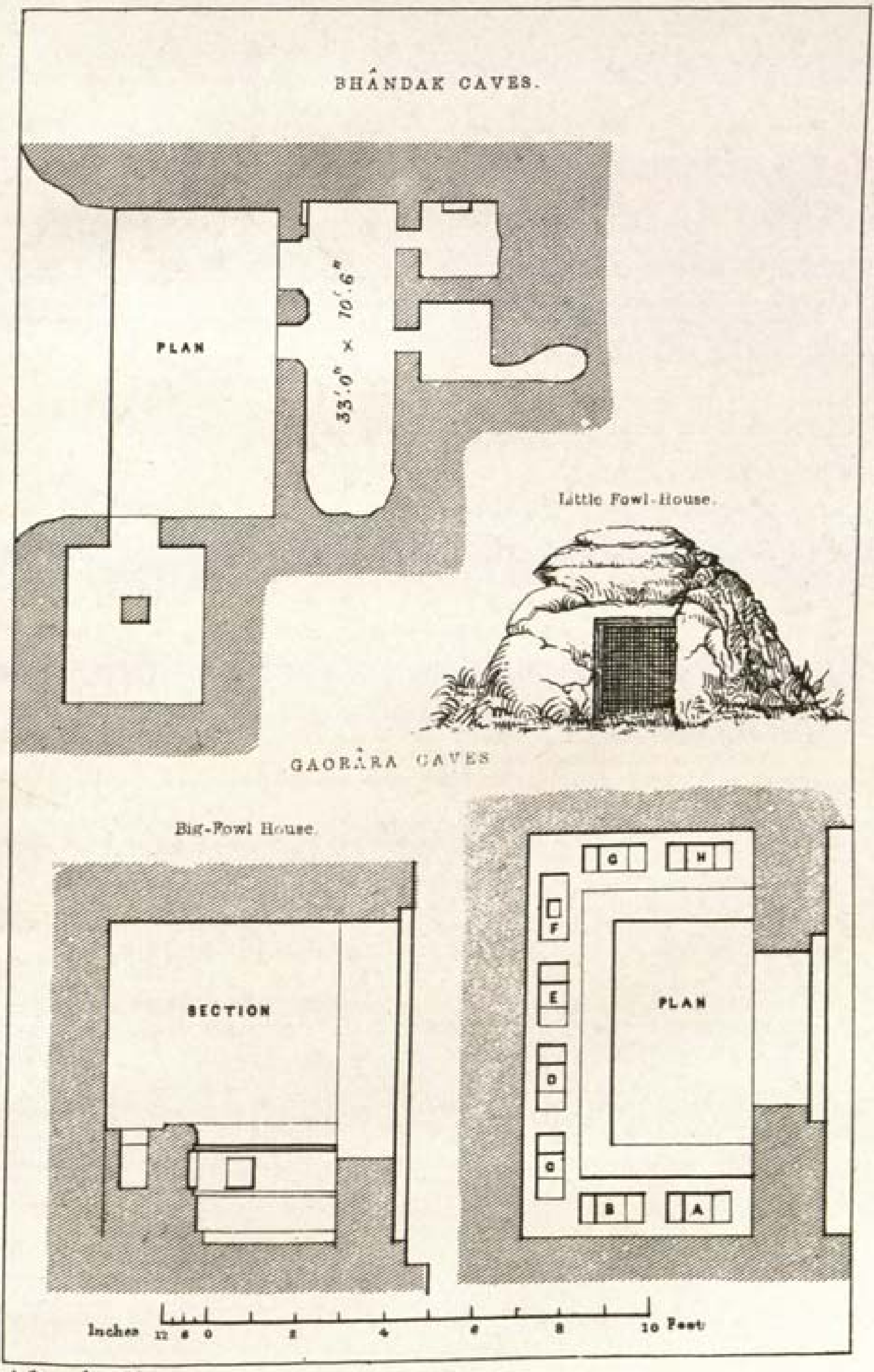

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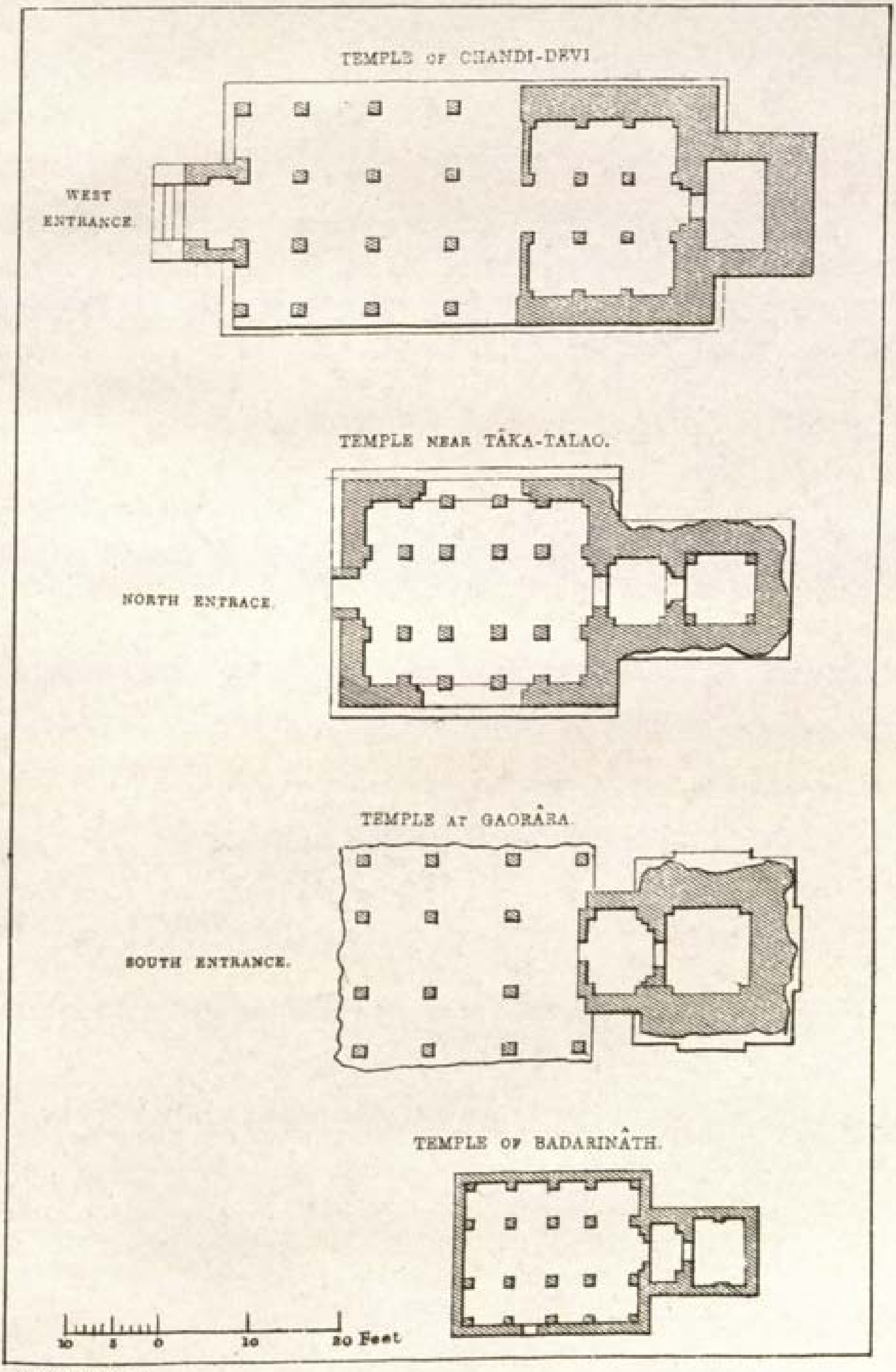

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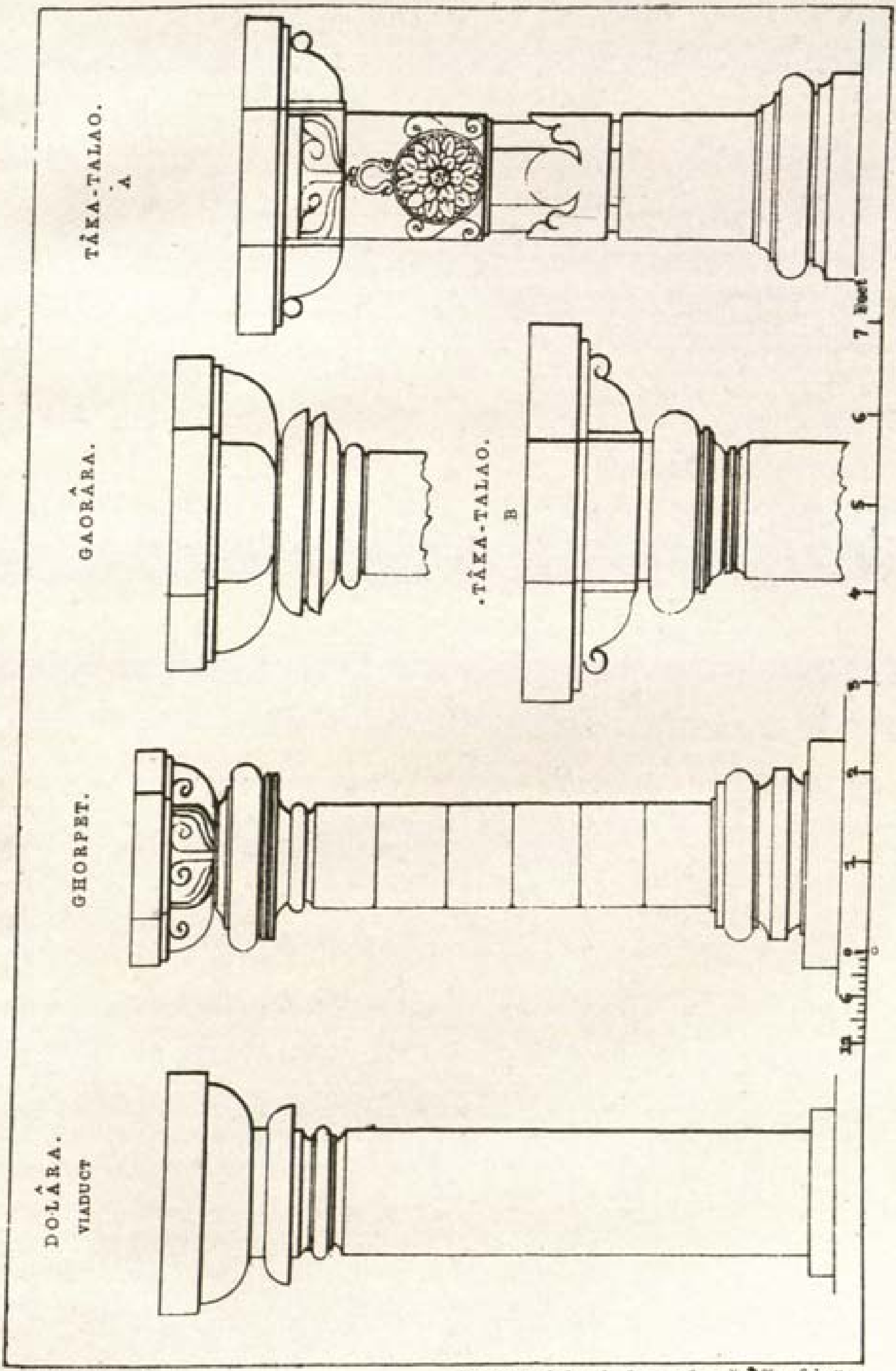

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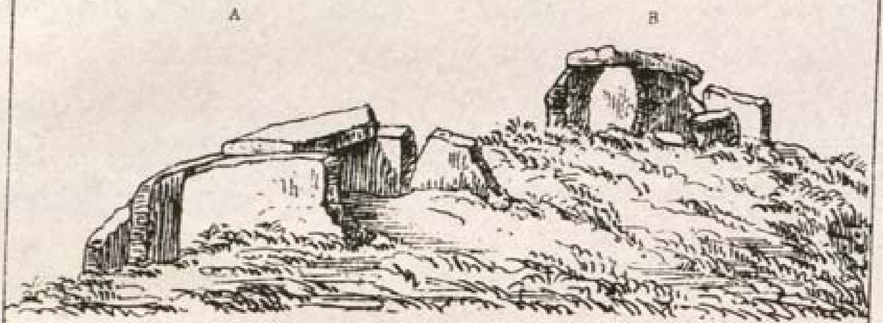
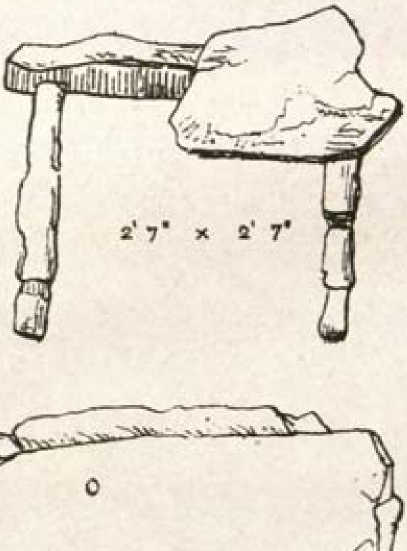
KELJHAR.

PLATE XXV.

DOLMENS.





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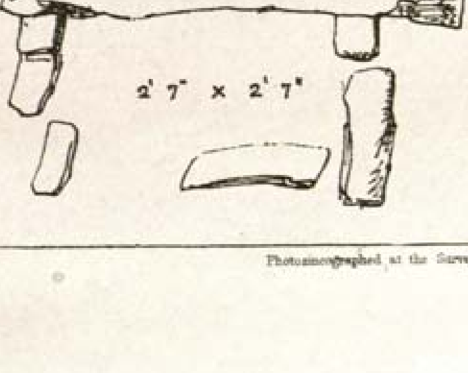

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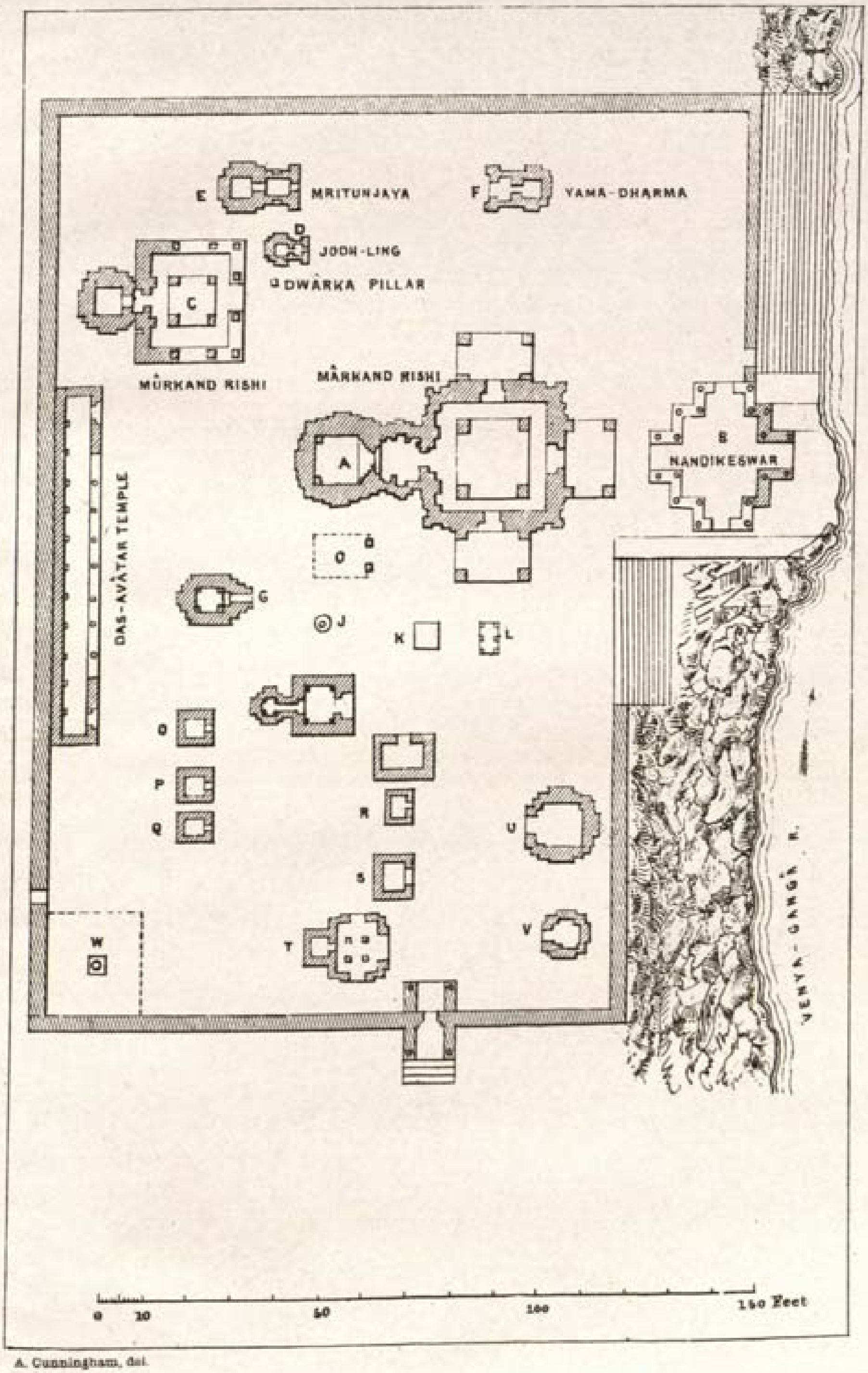

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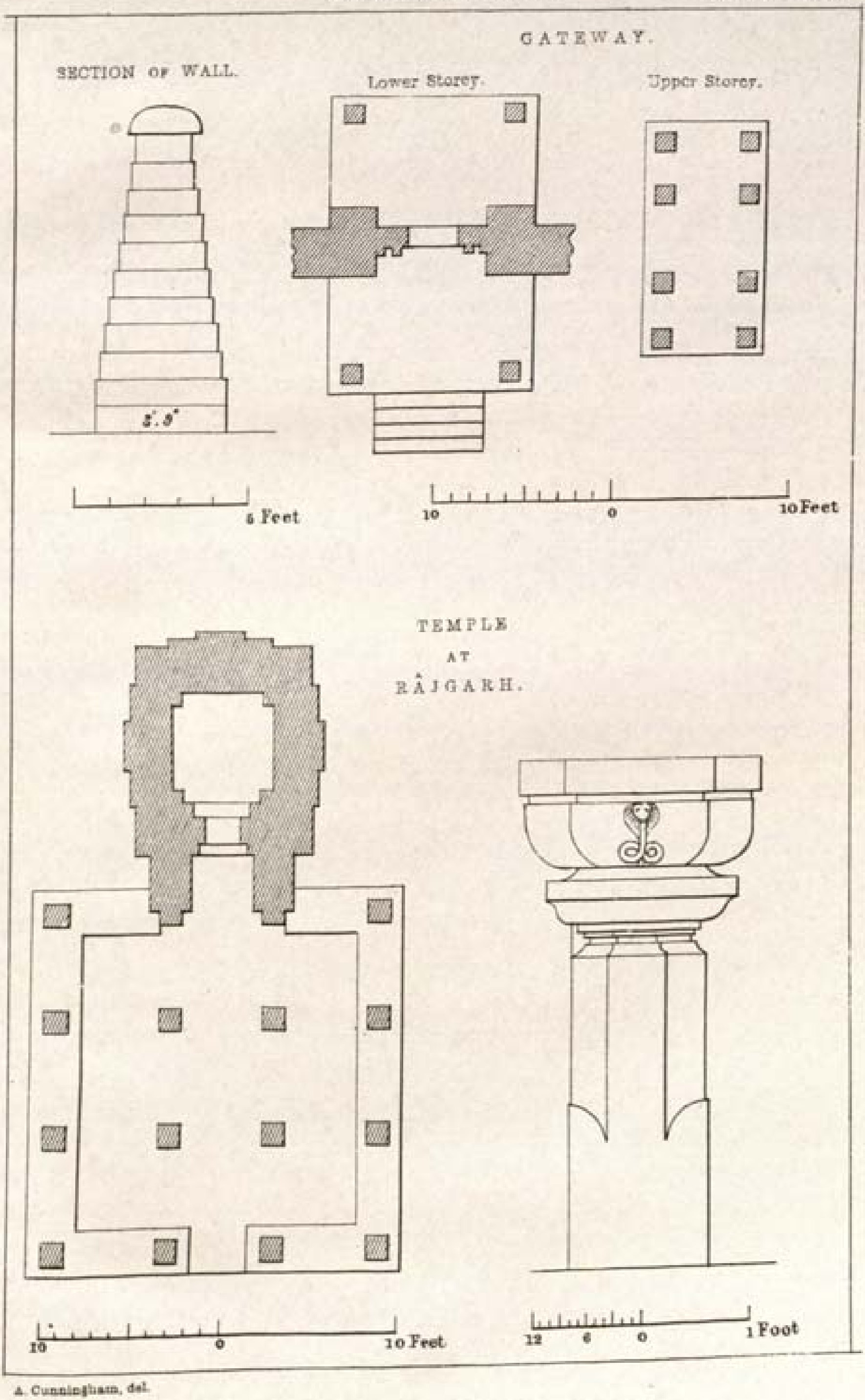

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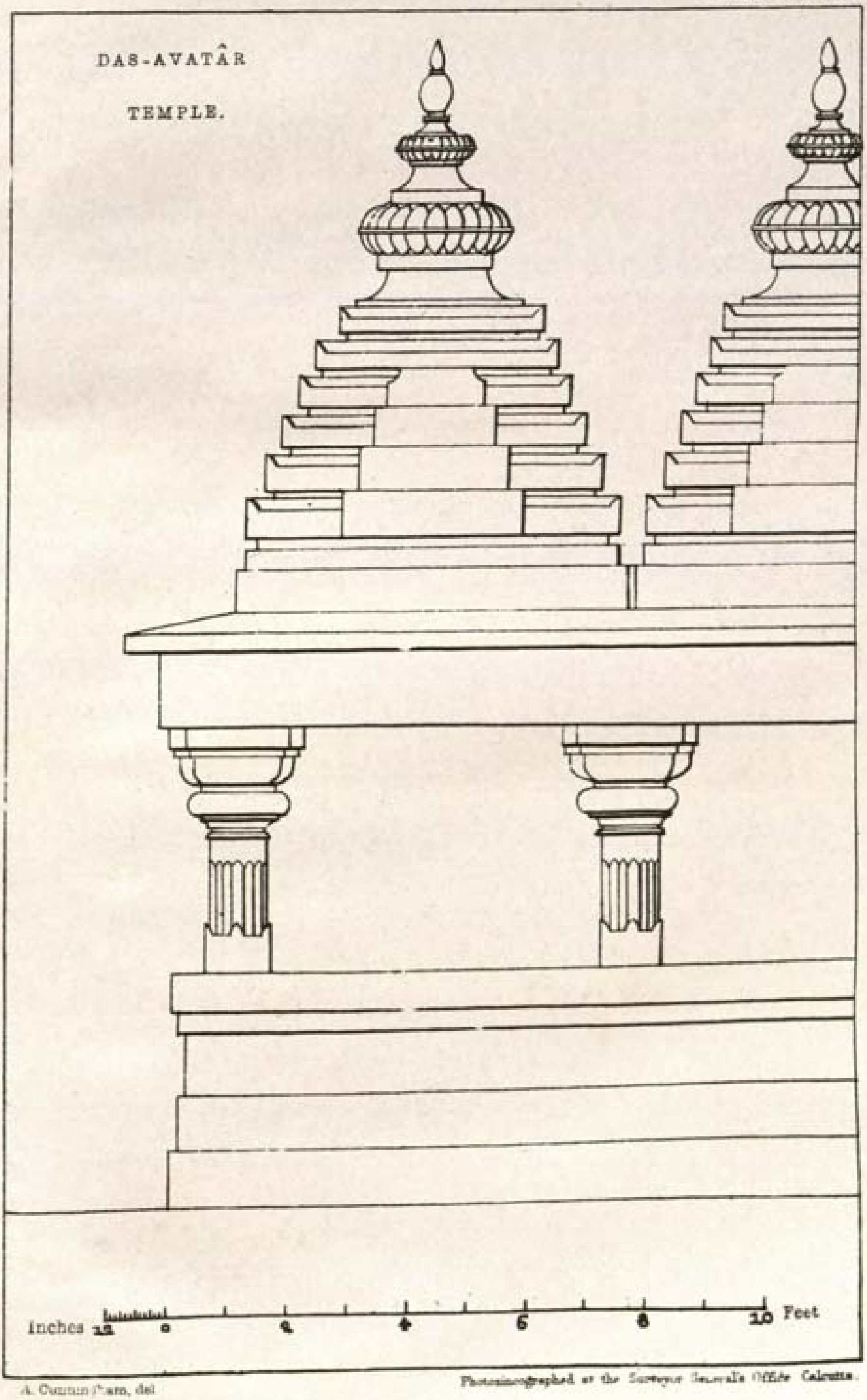

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MÂRKANDA.

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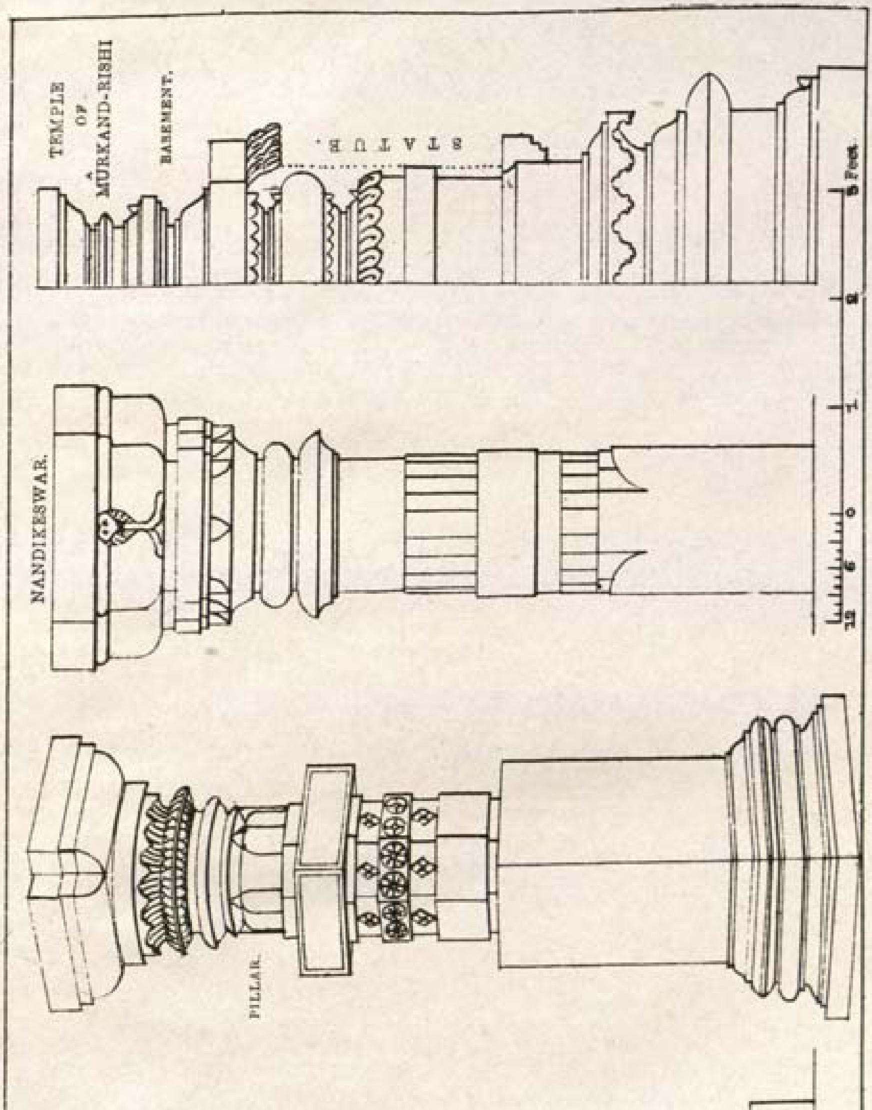

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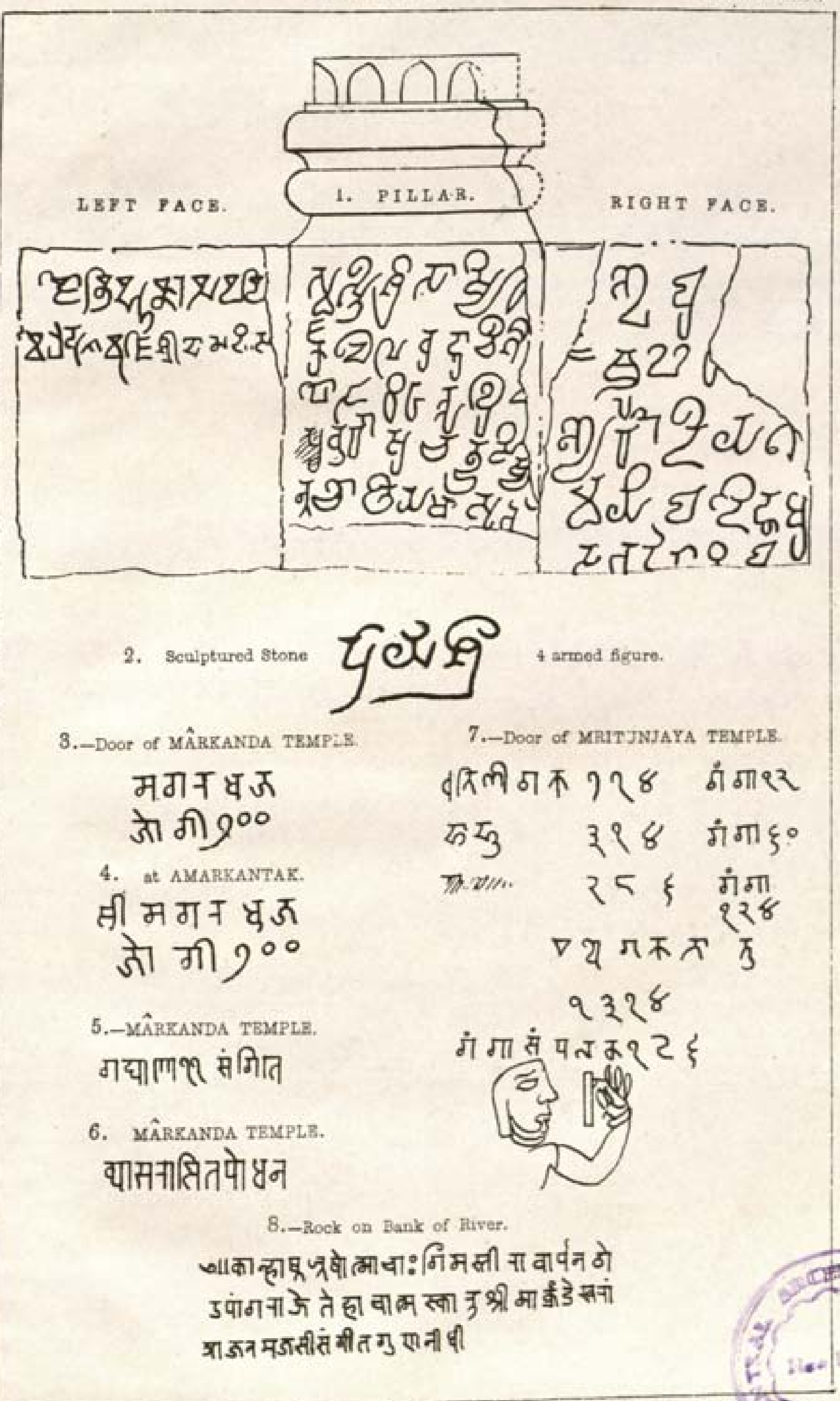

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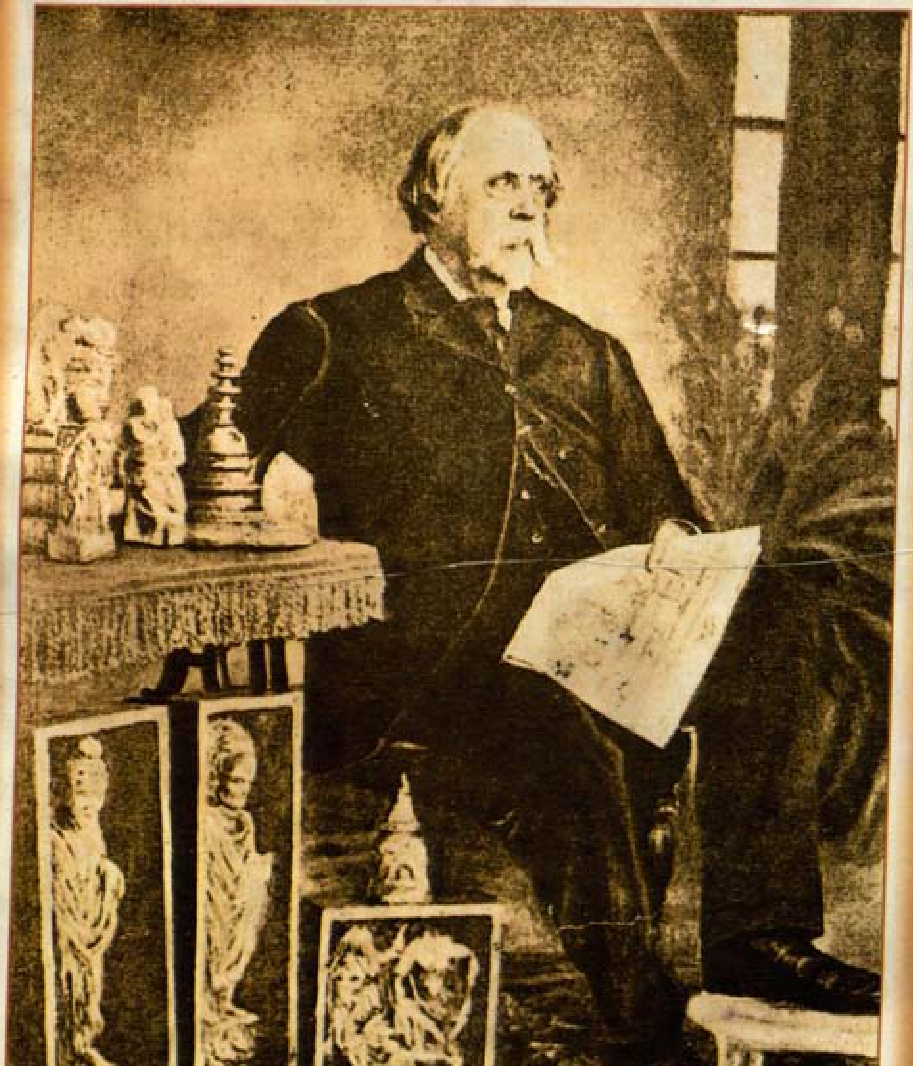
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